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ABSTRACT

This study compares teachers in open-space and traditional schools with respect to variables including the teacher's sense of influence, job satisfaction, and attitude toward being evaluated by colleges. Questionnaires were administered to 110 teachers from nine open-space elementary schools and 120 teachers from eight traditional elementary schools, all with predominantly middle-class suburban populations. The major findings showed that open-space school teachers were more satisfied with their jobs, felt more autonomous, and reported more influence in decision making. In traditional schools, ambitious teachers tended to be more dissatisfied with teaching than did unambitious teachers. Women teachers interested in verticle promotion were less satisfied than women without such interests. Open schools appear to give teachers professional ambition which becomes an important source of job satisfaction. The report provides evidence that organizational innovations have definite effects on teacher attitudes. Intercorrelations, questionnaires, and a 10-item bibliography are included. (MJM)

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Technical Report No. 21

THE IMPACT OF THE OPEN-SPACE SCHOOL UPON TEACHER INFLUENCE AND AUTONOMY: THE EFFECTS OF AN ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATION

John Meyer and Elizabeth Cohen
with
Frank Brunetti, Sheila Molnar, and
Erika Lueders-Salmon

School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California

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Introductory Statement

The Center is concerned with the shortcomings of teaching in American schools: the ineffectiveness of many American teachers in promoting achievement of higher cognitive objectives, in engaging their students in the tasks of school learning, and, especially, in serving the needs of students from low-income areas. Of equal concern is the inadequacy of American schools as environments fostering the teachers' own motivations, skills, and professionalism.

The Center employs the resources of the behavioral sciences--theoretical and methodological--in seeking and applying knowledge basic to achievement of its objectives. Analysis of the Center's problem area has resulted in three programs: Heuristic Teaching, Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas, and the Environment for Teaching. Drawing primarily upon psychology and sociology, and also upon economics, political science, and anthropology, the Center has formulated integrated programs of research, development, demonstration, and dissemination in these three areas. In the Heuristic Teaching program, the strategy is to develop a model teacher training system integrating components that dependably enhance teaching skill. In the program on Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas, the strategy is to develop materials and procedures for engaging and motivating such students and their teachers. In the program on Environment for Teaching, the strategy is to develop patterns of school organization and teacher evaluation that will help teachers function more professionally, at higher levels of morale and commitment.

The following report presents an extensive comparison of teachers in open-space schools with teachers in traditional schools. It surveys the effects of team teaching on variables such as the teacher's sense of influence, job satisfaction, and attitude toward being evaluated by colleagues. It thus focuses on the organizational effects of team teaching rather than on the substance of the team members' interaction or the effects of team teaching on children. Teachers in structurally open schools, who teach in teams or in view of other teachers, report a higher sense of efficacy--they feel better satisfied with their jobs, more autonomous, and more influential--than do teachers who teach in walled classrooms.[1]

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[1] This is the second study of team teaching undertaken within the Environment for Teaching program and represents a different approach from that of the first, B. Lopossa's "Comparative Study of Team and Individual Decision Making," Technical Report No. 20. Lopossa's study was an experimental one that compared the rationality and quality of decision making among teaching teams and ad hoc groups of individual teachers. The teams were not found to be more rational in their decision-making process or better in the quality of their decisions than the ad hoc groups.

CONTENTS

		Page
List of Tables	. . . .	vii
Abstract	. . . .	xi
Chapter 1	The Organizational Isolation of the Elementary School Teacher	1
2	Teacher Interaction and Influence in Open Schools and in Self-Contained Classrooms	21
3	Autonomy, Isolation and Job Satisfaction	55
4	Influence, Interaction and Job Satisfaction	70
5	The Opportunity to Become Ambitious	92
6	Teacher Orientations	111
7	Change in the Structure of Teaching: Summary	126
References	. . . .	138
Appendix A	Intercorrelations	140
Appendix B	Final Questionnaire	151
Appendix C	Pretest Questionnaire	170

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter No.	Table No.		Page
1	1	Selected Background Characteristics of Teachers from Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	17
2	1	Task-Related Interaction on Three Indices of Interaction Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	27
	2	Percentage of Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools Reporting Daily Interaction about Two Tasks	30
	3	Informal Teacher Evaluation by Colleagues and by the Principal Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	33
	4	Legitimization of Informal Colleague and Principal Evaluation of Task Performance Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	37
	5	Legitimization of Colleague Evaluation of General Work Performance by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	38
	6	Influence on Individual Task Performance on Four Indices of Influence Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	41
	7	Influence of Individual Teachers, Teacher Groups, and the Principal within the School Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	47
	8	Percentage of Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools Perceiving Individual Teachers, Teacher Groups and the Principal to Have a Great Deal of Influence over Two Policy Areas	48
	9	Job Satisfaction Scores of Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	51
3	1	Individual Teacher Autonomy, According to Years of Prior Teaching Experience: Separately for Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	61

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter No.	Table No.		Page
	2	Job Satisfaction Scores According to Perceived Level of Teacher Autonomy: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom schools	64
	3	Job Satisfaction by Number of Years Prior Teaching Experience: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	67
4	1	Job Satisfaction According to Teacher Group Influence Scores: Separately for Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	73
	2	Teacher Autonomy According to Teacher Group Influence Scores: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	74
	3	The Independent Effects of Autonomy and Group Influence on the Job Satisfaction of Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	77
	4	(a) Autonomy Scores and (b) Job Satisfaction Scores According to Reported Principal Influence upon the Individual: Separately for Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	79
	5	Teacher Group Influence According to (a) Group Interaction and (b) Informal Evaluation by Colleagues' Measures of Teacher Interaction: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	83
	6	Teacher Autonomy According to Formal Interaction and Informal Evaluation by Colleagues: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	84
	7	Teacher Job Satisfaction According to Group Interaction and Informal Evaluations by Colleagues: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	86

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter No.	Table No.		Page
5	1	Percentage Distribution of Trichotomized Scores of the Index of Professional Ambition in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools: For Women Only	98
	2	Professional Ambition and Job Satisfaction Among Women: For Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	100
	3	Percentage Distribution of Trichotomized Scores of the Index of Vertical Ambition in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools: For Women Only	102
	4	Vertical Ambition and Job Satisfaction in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools: For Women Only	103
	5	Vertical Ambition and Job Satisfaction Among Women Teachers in Two School Settings: Holding Constant Perception of Teacher Influence	105
	6	Probability of Having High Scores in Child and Maternal Orientations for High and Low Scorers on Professional Ambition: Women Only	107
	7	Probability of Having High Scores in Child and Maternal Orientations for High and Low Scorers on Vertical Ambition: Women Only	107
6	1	Relationship of Maternal and Child Development Orientation to Job Satisfaction in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	119
	2	Proportions Falling into Three Score Categories of Curriculum and Product Orientation in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	121
	3	Relationship of Curriculum and Product Orientation to Job Satisfaction in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	122

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter No.	Table No.		Page
	4	Relationship of Routine Orientation Score and Job Satisfaction in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools	123

Abstract

This study was concerned with a fundamental problem in the organization of the social role of the teacher: What are the nature and distribution of the work-related interaction and influence which teachers experience and the effects of these patterns on the way teachers actually work? Teachers are commonly isolated, in the performance of their day-to-day activities, from their immediate colleagues and superiors and from the profession at large. What are the consequences of current efforts to change teachers' work situations for teachers' job satisfaction, sense of control over their own work, and actual job performance?

Elementary schools are currently undergoing revolutionary changes in organization. How do these changes affect the status of teachers, their job satisfaction, their attitudes toward children, their sense of influence and autonomy within the school? In this study, a comparison was made between teachers in open-space elementary schools, and teachers in traditional schools where teaching takes place in self-contained or walled-off classrooms. Open-space schools refers to a new type of school architecture with a minimum of interior partitioning. From the organizational point of view, such schools represent a radical departure from traditional school organization in at least two ways: (a) teachers operate as a team to make important decisions about deployment of groups of children, scheduling, curriculum, and learning problems; (b) teachers are visible to one another as they work.

The sample. The sample consisted of 110 teachers from nine open elementary schools and 120 teachers from eight traditional elementary schools. All were K-6 schools with a predominantly middle-class suburban clientele. Questionnaires were administered to all the teachers in the selected schools.

Major findings. As compared with teachers in traditional schools, teachers in open schools were more satisfied with their jobs, felt more autonomous, and reported more influence in making all kinds of decisions. Principals were seen as less influential in the open schools. The rise in sense of teacher efficacy in the open schools does not appear to be a product of the selection process, since the two sets of teachers were similar as to sex and education, with the open-school teachers being slightly younger (probably because open schools are newer schools). The high morale in the open schools does not appear to arise only out of the general increase in teachers' power and autonomy in such schools. It appears to have other sources as well, which have not yet been identified.

Other interesting findings concern the responses of ambitious teachers working in these two organizational systems. In the traditional schools, ambitious teachers tended to be more dissatisfied with teaching than did relatively unambitious teachers, regardless of the measure of ambition that was used. In the open schools, women teachers interested in vertical promotion were also less satisfied than women without such interests. There was, however, a sharp rise in the occurrence of women with professional, i.e., collegial (as opposed to bureaucratic) ambition in the open-school setting, and these women tended to be more satisfied with their jobs than women who did not

score high on the project's measure of professional ambition. This finding was interpreted as a structural effect of open schools; open schools appear to give teachers professional ambition, which, in turn, becomes an important source of job satisfaction.

Teachers' orientations toward children on five different dimensions were measured on an attitude instrument. The hypotheses of the study were that teachers who had a maternal orientation or a "child-development" orientation toward children would be less happy in the open schools because of lowered opportunities for intensive teacher-child interaction. These relationships were not found. They apparently were eliminated by two much stronger relationships--teachers in open schools were more satisfied (in all sub-groups) than teachers in traditional schools; and, in either setting, if a teacher had a maternal or "child-development" orientation toward children, he or she was more likely to be satisfied with the job. These orientations, as a rule, were not markedly different in the two settings.

Chapter 1

THE ORGANIZATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER

Introduction

Recent innovations are changing the environment for teaching. These changes, many of them radical in nature, may have strong consequences for teacher power, teacher morale, and for the ways that teachers act toward students. Innovations such as team teaching and differentiated staffing are truly fundamental alterations in school organization. School administrators and educational researchers need a way to describe and analyze the nature of these changes and their organizational consequences.

In this study we report some findings on the impact on elementary school teachers of a major innovation in the organization and setting of their work. We compare teachers in two types of schools: (a) Those organizing the work of the school in a way that is now traditional by assigning a single teacher and an assigned and stable group of students to a classroom, and (b) those assigning a larger group of students with several teachers to a single large classroom space. These latter schools--called open-space schools--are designed and intended to provide a great deal of flexibility in elementary school teaching. Teachers can exchange duties, and can move from one group of students to another. Individualized instruction is facilitated--some teachers can work with individual students, or small groups of students, while the other teachers are working with larger groups.

Our interest in open-space schools, however, does not arise primarily because of their instructional flexibility. We are interested in seeing how they change the work, working relationships, and orientations of the teachers. In other words, we do not study the effects open-space schools may have on the instruction students receive (let alone what they actually learn) but on the work relationships and attitudes of the elementary teachers. The open-space school locates the teacher in a group of teachers working together. It creates new opportunities for teaching, the new responsibility of working in close coordination with others, the new resource of constant feedback and assistance from other teachers, and the new organizational limitation of potential interference, criticism and evaluation from others. How do these changes affect the role and attitudes of the teacher?

The role of the teacher is a subject of great importance because its restrictive character has been the focus of so much discussion in contemporary criticisms of education. The isolated character of the teacher's role--closed away behind the doors of the classroom--has been seen as the source of many educational problems. (a) The isolation of the teacher is seen as insulating teachers from innovations arising in the profession, the organizational structure of the schools, or the community. The teacher is both protected and insulated from the stimulations and the pressures outside the classroom which might make education more responsive both to community needs and the most modern educational developments. Thus, while the demands, requirements and possibilities for education created in the external social system and the educational professions are constantly changing, the little world of the classroom is believed to go on, irrelevant and independent to the point of isolation. (b) The isolation of the teacher is also believed to have negative effects on teachers. The teacher is seen as not only protected, but imprisoned in the classroom, with little professional contact or opportunity for development and innovation. Partly because of its insular situation and its custodial character, elementary school teaching has been thought to be an unexciting, impotent activity, low in almost every component of social status--prestige, income, social authority, power, effectiveness, and future career prospects. Many entrants into the profession leave within a few years. Hardly any--especially among the women--advance to positions of wider social significance and effectiveness.

It is therefore important to see how an innovation which opens up the classroom a little to bring the teachers into contact, at least with each other and possibly with the wider profession, affects the role and orientations of the teacher. This is the problem the present study sets out to investigate.

The Importance of Interaction

A crucial feature of our approach to school organization is the importance of the interaction of participants as they go about their jobs. Whether or not it is written into an organizational chart, if workers report that they cannot make decisions by themselves but must receive direction from others, and that their work is evaluated firsthand by these others, something vital about the authority structure of the organization has been revealed. Direction and evaluation are the foundation of organizational control.

In the traditional elementary school, the formal authority structure is misleading, giving the impression of a hierarchically organized bureaucracy with teachers taking detailed direction and evaluation from the principal. But studies examining how often the teachers actually work with the principal on the making of a decision show quite another picture.

In a study of traditionally organized schools in Wisconsin, Roland Pellegrin reports few collaborative relationships for the principal outside of his work with his secretary and the custodian. The teachers report being dependent on the principal. However, in response to questions about decision making, the teacher, in isolation, turns out to be the primary decision maker.[1]

Despite the hierarchical structure, principals infrequently give directions to teachers or evaluate their work. In actuality, principals often avoid evaluation procedures and rarely apply sanctions to tenured teachers. A recent California Teachers Association survey of evaluation procedures in over 700 school districts showed that principals normally evaluated permanent or tenured teachers annually and probationary teachers twice annually. Most districts report the use of only two classroom visits for evaluation purposes during the school year.[2]

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[1] Roland J. Pellegrin, Some Organizational Characteristics of Multiunit Schools. Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1970, Technical Report No. 8, Pp. 3-7.

[2] Recruitment, Assignment, Transfer, Promotion, and Evaluation Practices Reported by California School Districts--1966-67. Research Department, California Teachers Association and California Association of School Administrators. Research Bulletin No. 211. October 1967.

Teachers are also isolated from their colleagues. Traditionally, elementary teachers have performed their tasks individually--independent of each other. There are few mutual or common tasks that require meaningful professional interaction. Teachers talk to one another, but their conversation is largely informal and is not often related to decision making or evaluation. As a matter of fact, the observer in a traditional elementary school will not find many task-oriented groups of teachers to watch. It seems that the organizational structure emphasizing independent work has adverse affects upon meaningful task-related interaction among teachers.

The importance of work-related interaction lies in the opportunities it creates for influence and evaluation in decisions about the task of teaching. If we want to describe the sources of power and influence in school decision making, we must question and observe very closely the day-to-day decisions in the school--who makes them, with whose advice and consultation; who observes the consequences of the decision? If in some traditional schools the teacher is influenced and evaluated by no other staff members, then it must be concluded that teaching proceeds in an organizationally uncontrolled manner. Usually, when professionals work within a bureaucracy, some form of control is exerted by the colleague group, if not by the organizational superordinate. If the teachers in these schools interact on the job only with children, it follows that the organization not only fails to control the teacher's behavior, but also cannot modify, improve, or encourage the teaching process. The teacher, in this case, must act on his own ideas about the nature of teaching and the proper role of the teacher. In order to see organizational control at work in these schools, watch the teacher controlling, directing, and evaluating, as well as doing most of the talking in the classroom. In the traditional elementary school, the closest thing to a routine bureaucratic employee turns out to be the child!

Peculiarities of Elementary School Interaction

We have been suggesting how the elementary school differs from organizations such as businesses and hospitals, traditionally studied by sociologists.

The isolation of the teacher from potential colleagues and the principal is indeed a curious phenomenon. Lortie describes these oddities of organizational arrangement very well in his chapter on control and autonomy among elementary school teachers.[3] On the whole, Lortie feels that teachers are not powerful figures in the organization of the school. The teachers' main spheres of influence and reward are the classrooms, which Lortie describes as "small universes of control"; benefits derived from interaction with colleagues have little significance. "The teacher may participate (often voicing complaints) in committees which deal with school-wide matters, but since these occupy the fringes of her concern, such participation does little to intensify relationships with colleagues."[4] Teachers have a few participation rights in school-wide decisions. They tend to leave everything outside the classroom to the principal's decision-making domain.

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[3] Dan C. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching." In A. Etzioni (Ed.), The Semi-Professions and Their Organization. New York: The Free Press, 1969. Pp. 1-54.

[4] Ibid., p. 36.

According to Lortie, there are indications that the feature most central and unique to schools--instruction--is least controlled by specific and enforced rules and regulations. Informal understandings exist wherein principals concentrate instructional supervision on beginning teachers, leaving more experienced teachers largely to their own devices. Teachers do have, therefore, a limited type of autonomy, but one that is not formally recognized by the organization. Controls may always be exerted from above, and most teachers appear to recognize and respect this formal power of the principal.

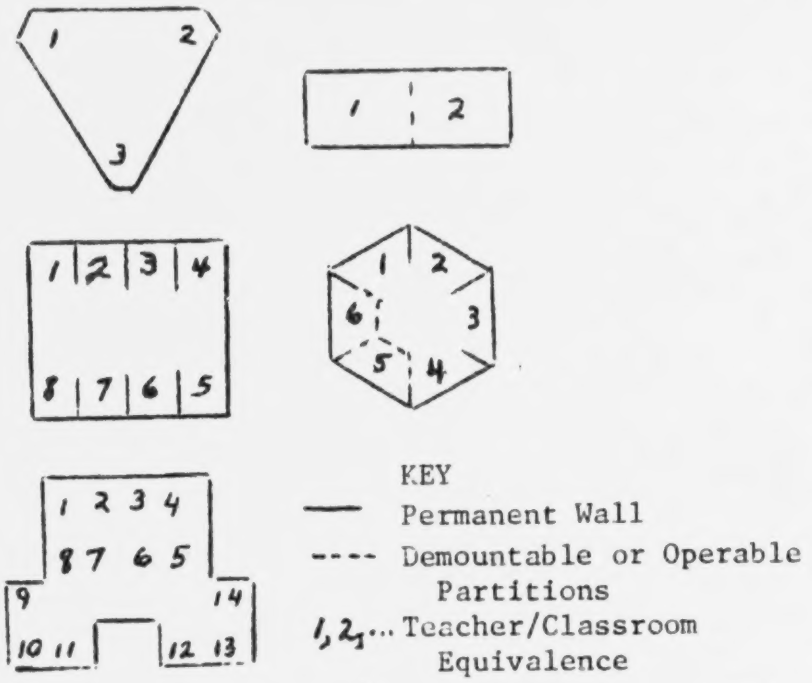
The significance of isolation of a technical-professional worker, both from colleagues and from formal evaluation of superiors, cannot be underestimated. Some teachers regard this freedom from interference of others as a desirable state of autonomy, characteristic of "true" professionals. But the essence of continuous professional control and intellectual growth lies in stimulating contact with peers who continually inform and challenge ideas about children, curriculum, classroom management, and larger problems of school and community relations. The children, although a possible source of favorable evaluation, cannot possibly perform this function. Without some form of evaluation by others, whether by colleagues or organizational superiors, the occupation becomes "fossilized."

Open Schools: A Natural Experiment in Organizational Change

The innovation of the "open-space" school provided a unique opportunity to study teachers in an environment where the locus of decision making has frequently been dramatically altered. A Stanford School

Planning Laboratory bulletin describes these schools as lacking in interior partitions: visual and acoustical separation between teaching stations and classroom areas is limited or eliminated.[5] The most common practice has been to create instructional areas by forming "pods," "Classroom clusters," or "big rooms" that accommodate a definite number of teachers and class groups usually ranging from the equivalent of two to nine classrooms. Many schools constructed within the last two years have open areas that range up to 30 equivalent classrooms. Figure 1 contains some representative examples of what constitutes open-space instructional areas.

Figure 1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KEY
—— Permanent Wall
---- Demountable or Operable Partitions
1,2,... Teacher/Classroom Equivalence

Drawings show relationships, not scale.

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[5] School Planning Laboratory, School of Education, Open-Space Schools Project Bulletin, No. 1, March 1970. Stanford, California: Stanford University.

According to a national survey of 43 state directors of school planning, over 50% of all new schools constructed within the last three years have been of open design. In some states such as California, virtually all new elementary schools being constructed are open-space in nature. The most important reasons for this architectural change, according to Stanford's survey, have been (a) improved flexibility in grouping of students, and (b) better use of teacher competencies through cooperative planning and teaching arrangements.[6] When schools emphasize individualized instruction, conventional classrooms limit the flexibility of potential grouping of students. Also, a physical structure enclosing a teacher and a single group of students behind a closed door has always limited the principal's ability to support weaker teachers or to make general use of the special skill of certain teachers. Some form of team teaching was the most commonly reported innovation by the superintendents of districts with open schools.[7]

Changes in the Organization of Work

The open-space school (which we shall call "open school"), when it makes use of team teaching, represents an important alteration of conventional elementary school organization. At least two of the changes are certain to have consequences for teachers. The first is the shift in focus of decision making from the individual teacher to the group of teachers. The second is the fact that teachers are working in full view and within acoustical range of each other.

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[6] Ibid., p. 5.

[7] Ibid.

In sociological terms, these are changes in the basic authority structure of the organization because the dimensions of evaluation and control have been altered. If there has been a true shift in the persons responsible for decisions, then accompanying changes should be found in the sources of influence on the content of those decisions. If principals are taking advantage of the new physical structure to make special use of highly competent teachers, it would seem essential that they find a way to identify certain teachers as competent. This in turn would necessitate a much more frequent and meaningful formal evaluation process in the new schools. If teacher groups are given the formal right to extensive decision making, then they must experience an increased sense of power and efficacy, and this increased sense of power may extend beyond the team's area of direct concern. Lastly, if teachers have the stimulation of interaction with other adults on professional matters rather than being confined all day to the company of children, they may well show a sharp increase in morale.[8]

Research Questions

Evaluation and Influence

This study compares the roles and role orientations of teachers in open schools with those in self-contained classrooms. By comparing the answers of samples of teachers in the two organizational settings, we hoped to be able to see the consequences the open school has for the teacher's position in the school.

In particular, the study was organized around a number of specific consequences the open school was hypothesized to have for teachers.

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[8] For a complete discussion of the changing authority structure of the elementary school, see Brunetti (1970).

1. Does the open school increase the amount of work-related interaction teachers have with colleagues?

It seems likely that the teacher interdependence created by the structure of the open school, with the attendant need for coordination and "team meetings," would greatly increase the interaction teachers have with each other. The effects of the open school on teachers' interaction with the principal might also be expected to be positive, since in this situation teachers are working in a public area freely available to participation and involvement by the principal.

2. Does the open school increase the overall amount of influence of the teachers?

If the open school creates colleague relationships and increases in the degree to which teacher groups effectively control a variety of aspects of classroom life, it should produce an increase in the amount of influence they feel they have in the school. The effect on the influence of the principal was seen as ambiguous--principals may gain, in the open school, access to a wider range of classroom activities which now go on in a more public place, but at the same time they no longer dominate the school by default because of the isolation of each individual teacher. Rather, they may be dealing with effectively organized teaching teams which set their own policies and make their own decisions.

3. Does the open school increase the amount of explicit evaluation of teachers which goes on in the school?

Open-school teachers work in a public situation. Colleagues and superiors can watch them work without having to penetrate the isolation of the self-contained classroom. In fact, colleagues and administrators in an open school can hardly avoid observing and being affected by the work of the individual teacher. With this increased opportunity to evaluate, the stated goal of using specialized competencies of individual teachers should result in evaluation of the competence of individual teachers. Thus, we hypothesized, both informal and formal evaluation (by both colleagues and principals) would be much more common in the open school.

We also expected that because open-school teachers are so interdependent and because their competence can so easily be observed by others, more-or-less formal rank or status differences would emerge in open schools. Team leadership positions and special resource-teacher roles would emerge. But very early in our study it became clear that the open schools in our sample had not developed very far along this line--formally acknowledged leadership positions carrying differential salary or authority rights were quite uncommon.

4. Does the open school increase the job satisfaction of teachers?

On this question, we began our study with conflicting expectations. The open school clearly provides teachers with new and satisfying opportunities--they can work with each other and share their problems with each other; their freedom to try out curricular innovations outside the confines of a preassigned classroom full of students is greatly increased. But the open school may also be seen as oppressive--the teacher is always working in public, with other teachers, and often supervisors are able to observe and comment. Further, the teacher's work is restricted by the fact that in a huge classroom without interior walls many kinds of noisy and exciting teaching activities are very disturbing to other teachers and their students. Thus the teacher must constantly be on guard lest his work be disturbing to others. So we were unable to decide on definite hypotheses about the effects of the open school on teacher job satisfaction.

Data on the four basic research questions listed above are presented in Chapter 2. In Chapters 3 and 4, these results are further analyzed. We attempt, with multivariate analysis, to dissect in greater detail why the open school has the effects it does on the influence and satisfaction of teachers.

Teacher Orientations

We wished to discover the effects of the open school on teachers' orientations to their work, as well as effects on patterns of interaction, evaluation, influence and satisfaction in the school. It was expected that the open school would greatly change the way teachers looked at their work, because it provided more organizational rewards for competence and a group of colleagues on whom the individual teacher could depend (instead of being dependent for rewards primarily on the students in the self-contained and isolated classroom). More specifically, we made certain predictions concerning teachers with particular career goals and teachers with certain orientations toward children.

5. Are open-space schools especially likely to support professional ambitions in teachers?

It has often been suggested that the lack of organizational rewards for competence in teaching tends to drive the most ambitious men and women into administrative positions or out of the profession entirely. We wanted to explore the question of whether open schools provided special opportunities for reward for ambitious teachers--rewards which are lacking in most schools. It became apparent early in our study that open schools had few, if any, more opportunities for formal promotion to offer teachers than other schools. But this still leaves open for investigation the possibility that teachers in open schools become oriented toward broader professional activities than other teachers. It was predicted that open schools would prove rewarding to professionally ambitious teachers who would therefore show more job satisfaction.

6. Are open-space schools especially likely to support teacher interests in curriculum and in formal academic learning, and to discourage broad (perhaps even maternal) identification with or interest in the child as a person?

Open schools usually divide up the day among specific lessons to be taught a given child by different teachers. Teachers specialize in particular areas and rarely teach a given group of children for most of the day. Further, because open-school teachers are constantly involved in work with the teaching team--the collegial group--it seems likely that they are able to look at children from a more distant, or perhaps more professional, perspective than teachers who confront a given group of children on a personal basis day after day in the self-contained classroom. The conditions of open-school teaching, that is, may create in teachers tendencies to identify less with children, and to use them less as a source of gratification, than elementary school teachers usually do. Correspondingly, open-school teachers may be especially likely to concentrate on the relation between child and curriculum--that is, the degree to which the child has learned the specialized academic materials for which the teacher is responsible. If these speculations are correct, open-school teachers can be expected to be considerably less maternal in their approach to the child, and considerably more analytical in their orientation to him as formally engaged in academic learning. Further, teachers with the appropriate orientations might be expected to be more satisfied with their jobs in open schools. Studies of teacher orientations are contained in Chapter 5, which reports our findings on teacher ambition, and in Chapter 6, which shows how open schools affect teacher attitudes toward the students.

Description of the Study: The Sample

Two criteria were used in selecting the schools to be studied: the formal arrangements of the teaching task and the physical arrangement of the instructional space. Two types of schools were selected:

1. Schools in which teachers are organized into formal work teams to plan cooperatively and to conduct instructional tasks in open instructional areas where teaching situations are not separated by floor-to-ceiling partitions. (These schools will be referred to as "open" throughout the study.)

2. Schools in which teachers are formally organized to carry out instructional tasks individually and separately in self-contained classrooms. (These schools are referred to as "self-contained" throughout the study.)

The sample consisted of 110 teachers from nine open elementary schools and 120 teachers from eight self-contained elementary schools. All of the schools were K-6 elementary schools serving predominantly middle class suburban populations in metropolitan areas. The open schools were selected from six different school districts, and the self-contained schools were selected from three school districts. It is noted that the sample was not randomly selected, as we attempted to choose only those schools representative of the two structural types of organization and architecture.

Since the practice of designing schools to accommodate team teaching and other cooperative staffing arrangements is relatively new, none of the open schools had been operating for more than 4 1/2 years. Only schools that were at least in their second year of operation were included in the sample. Three schools were selected from one district that had pioneered the "open-space" concept, and one school was selected from each of five other districts.

The self-contained schools were selected from three different school districts. We purposely used school districts where no school had formally embarked upon team-teaching programs. Five of the schools were selected from one district that had developed good working relationships with previous SCRDT projects.

The background characteristics of the teachers in the two types of schools were highly important to the study. Open schools are generally known to be "experimental" or "innovative" not only with respect to staff organization and architectural design, but also with respect to philosophy, curriculum, and teaching methods. Although there have not been any substantive studies made to confirm or reject these assumptions, it was incumbent upon us to examine some of the background characteristics of the teachers to determine if open schools attracted and/or recruited a "special" kind of teacher. Some of the background characteristics of the teachers from the open and self-contained schools are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Selected Background Characteristics of Teachers from Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

Characteristic	Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
Sex:		
Male	15%	17%
Female	85%	83%
Age:		
20-25	24%	24%
26-30	31%	22%
31-35	9%	15%
36-40	19%	7%
41-50	10%	22%
Over 50	7%	10%
Years Teaching Experience: (not including current year)		
1 year or less	10%	15%
Two	7%	8%
Three	39%	23%
Four	28%	32%
Five or more	16%	23%
Education:		
BA	61%	60%
BA+	30%	27%
MA	9%	9%
MA+	0%	2%
Other	1%	2%
N(100%)	110	120

Teachers in the two kinds of schools are virtually indistinguishable on the basis of sex or amount of formal education. In both samples, around 85% of the teachers are female and around 45% have more than a B.A. degree. There are some differences in the age and experience distributions which are, of course, closely related to each other. Although the proportions of the very youngest and least experienced teachers are similar, there is a slight tendency for a higher proportion of the open-school teachers to be in the 26-30 age bracket than the self-contained classroom teachers. The self-contained classroom teachers are somewhat older on the average than the open-school teachers. Similarly, the open-school teachers have, on the average, fewer years of teaching experience. Twenty-one percent of the self-contained classroom teachers have five or more years of experience.

These differences in the age and teaching experience of the teachers seem to be a function of the age of the schools. Most school districts, feeling the pinch of rising costs, hire inexperienced teachers to replace those who leave or to staff additional positions. The large percentage of teachers having two to five years of experience corresponds to the age of the open schools. Although most of the open schools were staffed, in part, by teachers recruited from other schools in the districts, unfilled positions were most likely staffed by new, inexperienced teachers. Thus the open-school staff looks more like any new school staff, despite efforts that were made to self-select or deliberately hand-pick some open school staffs.

Other background factors include marital status, previous work, experience, nationality, political orientation, and religious performance. There were virtually no differences between the two groups except in their expressed political orientations. In responding to three categories-- "conservative," "moderate," and "liberal"--the open-school teachers appeared to be less "conservative"; 54% indicated their political orientation to be "moderate" as compared to 39% of the teachers in self-contained classroom schools. Approximately 20% of the teachers in both groups checked the "liberal" category.

Procedure

The questionnaire (Appendix B) consists of five parts.

Part FS- Personality Background Information
Part 1 - Ambition and Orientation
Part 2 - Formal Evaluation
Part 3 - School Authority Structure
Part 4 - Job Satisfaction

Parts FS, 1, 2, and 4 were pretested (see Appendix C) in three elementary schools in three districts. On the basis of the pretest, we were able to reword ambiguous items and to reduce the final length of the instrument. Internal consistency of items in each subscale was measured, and items with a low relationship to the dimension were dropped. Also eliminated were those items that failed to produce wide variability along the five points of the Likert scale. Part 4 of the questionnaire was administered to several elementary teachers on an individual basis to refine individual items and increase the general clarity of this section of the instrument.

Questionnaires were administered to all teachers in the sample, if at all possible, in a regularly scheduled faculty meeting. A member of the research staff was present at each meeting both to administer and collect the questionnaires. Questionnaires of teachers who were absent or who did not have sufficient time to complete them were either mailed to a member of the research staff or picked up at the school at a later date.

The data analyses were carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences program at the Stanford Computation Center. Indices were constructed in analyzing most of the data. Multivariate cross-tabulation techniques were also employed. Specific treatments are described in each of the appropriate chapters that follow.

Chapter 2

TEACHER INTERACTION AND INFLUENCE IN OPEN SCHOOLS AND IN SELF-CONTAINED CLASSROOMS *

This study focuses on a dramatic organizational innovation. The open school breaks down the walls separating the classrooms of the more traditional school structure. The teachers are to work as a team, coordinating their work, exchanging pupils and tasks, jointly planning activities, and together facing a host of new and collective problems, of which the confusion and noise generated by the new arrangements are the most obvious. The new physical arrangements of the open school are intended to change the work of the teachers in some of these ways--to break down the professional isolation of the traditional elementary school teacher, and the rigid relation between the teacher and the given classroom full of students.

Organizational innovations, however, have a way of going awry. Time and time again, evaluation studies of major changes in organizational structures show that fundamentally--at the level of day-to-day work--nothing has changed. The entire constitution of the organization has been transformed, new goals and new structures have been created, but so far as the actual distribution of work, the actual location of duties and powers, nothing has happened.

In setting out to study the open school, we received many intimations that this major innovation, too, was one of little substance. In pretest interviews, informed individuals in the field were careful to leave open the possibility that the central patterns of authority activity,

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*Findings presented in this chapter are based on Brunetti (1970).

and especially the defensive isolation of the individual teacher, were quick to reassert themselves in the new physical setting of the open school. Field observation also suggested this possibility. The first thing a casual observer can note about many open schools is the extent to which the huge open collective classroom space is artfully broken up into smaller physical units. The teachers are not brickmasons of course, and cannot rebuild the physical walls; and in any case to do so would violate in an obvious way the new organizational plan, with its ideological base stressing the importance of collective or "team" teaching. But using the equipment available to teachers, they do indeed seem to rebuild the physical walls of their classrooms. Bookcases are piled up on boundary lines. Storage cabinets and files are carefully located to break up sight lines. Classes tend to meet in nooks and corners protected by the few structural walls which are left. Pillars and posts are extended with displays of student art work, pictures, maps, and shelves containing the collections of flora, fauna and minerals characteristic of the modern elementary school.

It seemed clear that the defensive reconstruction of the walls of the classroom operated to protect the most central and individual part of teaching--the actual instruction of particular classes in particular lessons. Teachers seemed to be more willing to work collectively on general problems of curriculum, school policy and student discipline than on the more personal questions of instructional style.

As the collection of quantitative data on interaction and influence in open and self-contained classrooms began, we increasingly entertained the possibility that there would be few, or small, differences between the two structures, and that the apparent innovation of the open school was a new bottle in which very old wine was to be found.

This chapter simply compares the reports of teachers in open and self-contained classrooms on the distribution of interaction, evaluation and influence in their schools. Throughout the report the observed differences are assumed to reflect the real differences in the long-run impact of the two types of organizations, but there are two methodological difficulties with this argument which must be made explicit. (a) It is possible that any differences between teachers in open and self-contained classrooms reflect differences which the two kinds of teachers brought with them to their schools. The teachers are not randomly assigned to the two types of schools, and all sorts of underlying differences between them are conceivable. This potential defect in the data is made much less likely because, as shown above, the two groups of teachers are quite similar on most of the selected background characteristics. They are similar in age, education, experience, sex, and as the data in Chapter 6 show, many basic educational attitudes. The open-school teachers report that they are politically "liberal" to a somewhat greater degree than teachers in self-contained classrooms, but the difference is not very large, and in any case, political attitudes do not seem to be closely related to any of the variables of concern here--teachers' reports about their interaction, evaluation, influence, or satisfaction with their jobs. All in all, the methodological problem of respondent self-selection is not likely to be a major difficulty in this study. The major qualification this statement requires is that open-school teachers have selected themselves and thus enter their positions, presumably, with higher morale and greater involvement than others. Even though open-school teachers have attributes similar to other teachers, the very fact that they have chosen (and, typically, been selected by the teaching team) to work in a prestigious and atypical teaching situation may indicate, or result in, exceptional commitment on their part to their work situation. A consideration of this point leads to the second basic methodological problem in our data. (b) A more serious problem arises because the open school is a well-known innovation. Innovations carry with them prestige, involvement, and satisfaction--the much-discussed "Hawthorne" effect. Respondents are likely to be affected not only by the substance of an innovation, but by the fact that it is new and exciting. Further, the very newness of an innovation may create unusual kinds of involvement on the part of participants as they work out and routinize the new organizational and task-related procedures. These factors mean that any differences may result from the temporary or traditional effects of the newness of the open school as an organizational form, not from its intrinsic structure. There is no effective way to deal with this methodological problem, except to see if the differences between the two types of schools are clearly related to substantive structural differences between them, and are not a global or diffuse prestige effect.

This chapter investigates differences between teachers in open and self-contained classrooms on the dimensions which might be expected to be most obviously related to their differences in structure. The reported results deal, in sequence, with four basic questions:

1. Do patterns of interaction in the two types of schools differ? If teachers in open schools do not work together more closely, the innovation we are examining lacks the substance it was intended to have.

2. Do patterns of work evaluation in the two types of schools differ? The open school, with its attendant team teaching, is intended to transfer authority and responsibility from the isolated individual teacher (and sometimes the principal) to the professional group. If this does not occur, the informal changes in interaction brought by the open classroom are not accompanied by shifts in formal or informal authority.

3. Similarly, do patterns of influence in the school, and over the work of individual teachers, change in the open school? In other words, are shifts in interaction and the authority to evaluate accompanied by changes in the distribution of overall power in the school?

4. Finally, are teachers in open schools more satisfied with their jobs than teachers in self-contained classrooms? One of the basic justifications of the open school is that it makes the work of teaching more involving and satisfying, and in this way improves the capabilities of the teachers.

Differences in Interaction Patterns

In comparing interaction patterns between the two types of schools, the primary concern is with the extent to which teachers interact with their colleagues about work-related matters. A main thrust of the open school is to make the work of teaching a collegial activity, and thus to create both informal and formal (i.e., group meetings) interaction among teachers about their work. Also of interest were any effects the open school might have on teachers' interaction with principals, although no clear effects could be hypothesized. In some ways, the open school may make the teacher's work more accessible to observation and discussion by the principal, but on the other hand this organizational change may also take much responsibility for supervision and evaluation out of his hands as the collegial group becomes more important.

In order to measure interaction patterns, teachers were asked to indicate how often they talked with other teachers, with teacher groups and with the principal about six separate task areas: (a) the educational goals and objectives of the school, (b) school rules and regulations, (c) grading students, (d) curriculum planning, (e) teaching specific lessons or classes, and (f) student discipline and control. These areas were chosen to cover a wide range of work-related topics. To each of the six items a teacher could give any one of five answers describing how often interaction took place: (1) at least once a day, (2) at least once a week, (3) at least once a month, (4) less than once a month, or (5) never.

Three indices of interaction were constructed using teachers' responses to the six task areas on three separate questions:

1. Index of Informal Work Interaction: (Q. 1) "How often do you talk informally, aside from prearranged or formal group meetings, with other teachers about..." (followed by the six task areas).
2. Index of Group Interaction: (Q. 2) "When you meet with school committees, teams, or teacher groups (e.g., of similar grade level or subject area), how often do you discuss..."
3. Index of Informal Principal Interaction: (Q. 3) "How often do you talk individually with the principal about..."

In constructing each index, each teacher was given a score on each item ranging from 1 (for those teachers reporting interaction at least once a day) to 5 (never interacting). Then the scores on the six items for each question were combined by addition into the overall index.[1]

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[1] The items within each index showed substantial intercorrelations. The data are shown in Appendix A.

For simplicity of presentation and analysis, each index was reduced to a trichotomy. All three measures were trichotomized at the same cutting points to permit comparisons between them.

Table 1 shows the differences on the three interaction indices between teachers in open schools and those in self-contained classrooms.

TABLE 1

Task-Related Interaction on Three Indices of Interaction Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

		Open Schools	Self Contained Classrooms
a. Index of Informal Work Interaction:			
	High	76%	48%
	Medium	20%	31%
	Low	5%	21%
b. Index of Group Interaction:			
	High	61%	21%
	Medium	25%	27%
	Low	14%	52%
c. Index of Informal Principal Interaction:			
	High	7%	8%
	Medium	17%	18%
	Low	76%	74%
	N(100%)	110	120

The data in Table 1 strikingly confirm two aspects of our interpretations of the structure of the elementary schools we studied. First, teachers in open schools report much more interaction with each other, in both informal and especially formal meetings, than teachers in self-contained classrooms. The difference in degree of interaction in formal group meetings is especially striking. The teaching team meetings characteristic of the open school (at least weekly, but frequently even more often) clearly have a strong impact on the work-related communication of the teachers. Sixty-one percent of the open-school teachers, but only 21% of the teachers in self-contained classrooms, are high on the measure of formal group interaction. This finding is of crucial importance to our study, since it validates the decision to examine open schools as representing a significant change in the organization of the school. Whatever else may be said about the open school, it sharply increases the amount of formal, work-related interaction teachers have with their colleagues. Teachers in open schools also have much more interaction with their colleagues on a more informal basis. Seventy-six percent are high on this variable, while only 48% of the teachers in self-contained classrooms received high scores.

The data in Table 1 also show a second important result. In neither open schools nor in self-contained classrooms do teachers report much work-related interaction with their principals. Only 8% of the teachers in self-contained classrooms and 7% of the teachers in open schools were high on this measure. This is striking in comparison with the large numbers of teachers in both types of schools with high scores on indices of formal and informal interaction with colleagues.

More detailed data show that on every one of the specific items of discussion, running from "the educational goals and objectives of the school" to "teaching specific lessons or classes," over half of the teachers in both open and self-contained classrooms reported having talked with their principal "less than once a month" or "never." No more than 2% of the teachers reported that they talked with the principal "daily" in any of the task areas. These data amply document the isolation of the teacher from the formal organization of the school, and the corresponding isolation of the principal from the ideas and the day-to-day work of the teachers.

In designing this study, we had considered the possibility that the open school, while greatly affecting teachers' interaction with their colleagues, did not really affect them in the areas most closely related to the individual's personal and professional work--instruction and substantive matters of curriculum. But it is particularly interesting that open-school teachers report a frequent interaction about these two task areas most directly related to instruction. "Curriculum planning" and "teaching specific lessons or classes" are particularly substantive in nature and are common concerns to teachers in any school. The percentage of teachers reporting daily interaction about these two task areas, both as individuals and in groups, is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Percentage of Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools Reporting Daily Interaction about Two Tasks

	Two Task Areas			
	% Interacting at Least Once a Day about Curriculum Planning		% Interacting at Least Once a Day about Teaching Specific Lessons or Classes	
	Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms	Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
Interaction with Other Individual Teachers	30% (110)[a]	8% (120)	51% (110)	15% (120)
Interaction with Teacher Groups	15% (110)	5% (120)	23% (110)	6% (120)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

The small number of self-contained classroom teachers and large number of open-school teachers reporting daily contact about instructional matters is clearly indicative of the effects of the two task structures. It should be noted that while a relatively small number of open-school teachers report daily interaction in groups, if the responses for interaction "at least once a day" and "at least once a week" are combined, 71% of the open-school teachers report group discussion about "curriculum planning" as opposed to only 17% of the self-contained classroom teachers. Sixty-eight percent of the open-school teachers report group discussion about "teaching specific lessons" as opposed to 19% of the self-contained classroom teachers. The question concerning interaction in groups may reflect the weekly team meetings that are common in most of the open schools in the sample, and which are clearly a vital part of the instructional activity of the school.

Evaluation

We have seen that open-school teachers report much greater task-related interaction than teachers in self-contained classrooms. Further, teachers in both open and self-contained classrooms report that they have relatively little interaction with their principals. Now the question may be asked: To what extent do these characteristics of teacher interaction carry over to affect the evaluation of teachers' work? It is a common sociological observation that patterns of interaction create networks of evaluation and, ultimately, influence. If the elementary schools in the sample reflect this type of effect, teachers should be much more actively involved in evaluating each others' work in open schools.

On the other hand, the elementary school is not simply a casual structure of informal interaction and influence. There are formal evaluation procedures, typically required by the larger school system. If these predominate in the evaluation processes of the school, then our two types of schools should not materially differ.

In response to a question on the frequency of being observed by their principal for purposes of formal evaluation, the teachers' answers reflected the relatively standardized organizational rules concerning evaluations. Seventy-four percent of the teachers in open schools, and 70% of those in self-contained classrooms, said "once or twice a year." Only 11% of the open-school teachers, and 24% of those in self-contained classrooms reported being formally observed at least once a month.

Formal evaluation, then, comes infrequently in both types of elementary school structure. These data show again that work relations between teachers and principals tend to become routinized and ritualized, resulting in the effective organizational isolation of the teachers. But even though formal evaluation of teachers' work for organizational purposes appears to be peripheral to the actual day-to-day work of teaching, more informal kinds of evaluation are much more common.

Informal Evaluation

To determine the incidence of informal evaluation, teachers were asked to indicate how often they received "feedback and/or advice" from both other teachers and the principal about their performance in five task areas: (a) administration of school rules and regulations; (b) student grading practices; (c) curriculum planning; (d) teaching specific lessons or classes; and (e) student control and discipline practices. As in the interaction questions, teachers responded to each task area using one of five response categories ranging from (1) at least once a day, to (5) never.

Two indices of evaluation were constructed:

1. Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues: (Q. 4) "How often do you receive feedback and/or advice from other teachers about your own..."

2. Index of Informal Evaluation by Principals: (Q. 5) "How often do you receive feedback and/or advice from the principal about your own..."

As with the interaction indices, each teacher was given a score on each task area ranging from 1 to 5, and the scores were combined to form the overall index.[2]

Table 3 compares the scores on the two indices of teachers in open schools and in self-contained classrooms.

TABLE 3

Informal Teacher Evaluation by Colleagues and by the Principal Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
a. Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues:	High	61%	32%
	Medium	17%	19%
	Low	22%	49%
b. Index of Informal Evaluation by Principals:	High	19%	21%
	Medium	29%	18%
	Low	52%	62%
	N(100%)	110	120

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[2] The items within each index were substantially intercorrelated. The data are shown in Appendix A.

Open-school teachers report much more informal task evaluation by colleagues than do teachers in self-contained classrooms. In fact, 61% of the open-school teachers were in the "high" evaluation category, compared with only 32% of the teachers in self-contained classrooms. Although the difference between the two groups is to be found in each of the five specific task areas, relatively few teachers even in the open schools report frequent task evaluation concerning "student grading practices." This is to be expected, since grading students is still largely an individual matter. Teachers sometimes confer about a particular student's performance, but a single teacher is usually responsible for grading his work in a specific area.

As was the case with task-related interaction, teachers in both types of schools report that they receive little informal task evaluation by principals. Over one-half of the teachers fell into the "low" category. In fact, in each of the five task areas, over 60% of both open and self-contained classroom teachers indicated that they received informal evaluations from the principal "less than once a month" or "never."

Thus, findings on informal evaluation parallel the data on teacher interaction. Teachers in both types of schools report receiving more such feedback from their colleagues than from the principal, but teachers in open schools report much higher levels of collegial evaluation. As with teacher interaction, the structure of the open school seems to have a strong effect on the development of collective control through evaluation.

The Legitimization of Evaluation

The open school could broaden the range of collegial evaluation in either --or both--of two ways. The simple presence of more frequent interaction among colleagues might increase such evaluation by providing many more opportunities for colleagues to work together in this way. But there is an additional possibility. The open school, with its ideology of team teaching and team responsibility, may also create a normative climate encouraging, and perhaps even requiring, colleague feedback or evaluation. The exchange of advice and suggestions characteristic of these schools may reflect a difference of normative emphasis as well as a simple difference in opportunities for colleagues to exchange views. If this is true, of course, the exact ways in which the open school may increase informal colleague evaluation remain a little unclear. It is possible that a normative climate supporting colleague evaluation tends to create the differences in actual behavior which teachers report. But it is also possible that a supportive normative climate results from the substantial increase in teachers' routine interaction about their work. Cross-sectional data alone cannot determine whether the crucial features of open schools which change patterns of colleague evaluation are those which change the interaction networks or those which define a new normative order.

In order to discover whether open schools in fact possess distinctive normative climates encouraging colleague evaluations, it was necessary to discover whether teachers felt that various types of evaluation were legitimate in the eyes of participants in their schools.

With this in mind, teachers were asked to indicate the degree to which they expected their colleagues and the principal to make informal evaluations ("comments or suggestions") of their performance in the five task areas used in the two evaluation questions: (a) administration of school rules and regulations; (b) student grading practices; (c) curriculum planning; (d) teaching specific lessons or classes; and (e) student control and discipline practices. On each of the task areas, a teacher could give any of five answers indicating the degree to which teachers legitimized evaluation attempts: (1) a great deal; (2) considerably; (3) moderately; (4) not very much; (5) not at all.

Two legitimization indices were constructed:

1. Index of Legitimization of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues: (Q. 6) "Teachers in this school expect each other to make comments or suggestions to each other about their..."

2. Index of Legitimization of Informal Evaluation by Principals: (Q. 7) "Teachers in this school expect the principal to make comments or suggestions to teachers about their..."

As in constructing the interaction and evaluation indices, each teacher was given a score for each task area ranging from 1 to 5, and the scores were combined to form each index.[3]

Table 4 shows the degree to which teachers in open and self-contained classrooms legitimize colleague and principal evaluation of task performance. Two interesting results emerge. First, open-school teachers indicate much greater normative support for colleague evaluation than do teachers in self-contained classrooms. This corresponds to both the interaction and evaluation indices and shows very clearly the distinctive character of the open school. Second, as is the case on the interaction and evaluation indices, open-school and self-contained classroom teachers responded similarly in their legitimization of principal evaluation of task performance.

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[3] The items in each of the indices were substantially intercorrelated. See Appendix A.

TABLE 4

Legitimization of Informal Colleague and Principal Evaluation of Task Performance Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
a. Index of Legitimization of Informal Colleague Evaluation of Task Performance:	High	54%	16%
	Medium	30%	25%
	Low	16%	59%
b. Index of Legitimization of Informal Principal Evaluation of Task Performance:	High	27%	32%
	Medium	46%	36%
	Low	27%	32%
	N(100%)	110	120

If open-school teachers legitimize informal task-specific "feedback," does this mean that they accept the rule that "colleagues should have the right to evaluate each other's work?" Teachers were asked to respond directly to this question using one of five response categories: "strongly agree," "agree," "neutral," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." The results are remarkably similar to those in Table 4 and are presented in Table 5.

Although the teachers were reluctant to "strongly agree" to the question, a much larger number of open-school teachers legitimize colleague evaluation of general work performance than teachers in self-contained classrooms. What is particularly interesting is the number of teachers who definitely did not legitimize colleague evaluation--62% of the self-contained classroom teachers as compared to only 27% of the open-school teachers. As the question has definite connotations of formal task evaluation, it appears that a norm for colleague evaluation of work, through both informal and formal means, is being established in the open school.

TABLE 5

Legitimization of Colleague Evaluation of General Work Performance Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

Question: Colleagues should have the right to evaluate each other's work.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Open Schools N(100%) = 110	4%	41%	28%	18%	9%
Self-Contained Classrooms N(100%) = 120	3%	16%	17%	33%	29%

Influence Patterns

It is clear that teachers in open schools, as compared to teachers in self-contained classrooms, tend to grant their colleagues significantly more evaluation rights and consequently more authority to influence individual task performance. Also, almost one-third of the teachers in both groups legitimize to a "high" degree the principal's right to informally evaluate individual task performance. Now the questions are asked: How much control do individual teachers have over their own work and to what degree are they influenced by their colleagues and the principal?

There is no way, of course, of objectively establishing the distribution of influence or power in the school. First of all, there is great uncertainty among social scientists as to how such concepts should be defined and measured. Second, specific decisions made in each of the schools were not studied in detail to see what patterns of influence affect them. Therefore, in deciding about the distribution of influence in these schools, only the teachers' reports about such influence were considered. The teachers were asked about their own influence, the influence of other teachers, and that of the principal. Their answers are not a clear reflection of some actual or "true" distribution of influence, for the reasons indicated above. But if there are differences in their answers from school to school, these may indicate something about differences in the _relative_ influence of individual teachers, teachers in general, or the principal from school to school. It is toward such conclusions that our data are most relevant.

In asking the teachers about the distribution of influence in the school, there were two kinds of influence questions: (a) Influence the teacher reported over his or her _own_ behavior as a teacher. In other words, what is the distribution of influence perceived as surrounding the work of the _individual teacher_? (b) The teachers also reported the influences they perceived as operating over the policies of the _school as a whole_. In this area teachers were asked, not about influence which might operate entirely privately or informally, but about the effect various individuals and groups had over the public policy of the school. The two types of influence should operate quite differently, and might be quite differently affected by the open school. Findings on the two types of influence are therefore reported separately.

Influences over the Behavior of Individual Teachers

In order to discover the influences teachers perceived as operating over their own teaching behavior, a number of questions were asked. Some questions asked the teachers to indicate how much influence they had over their own task performance (i.e., individual job autonomy). Other questions asked how much their task performance was influenced by teacher groups, other individual teachers, and the principal. Teachers were asked separately about influence in each of the five task areas noted previously: (a) administration of school rules and regulations; (b) student grading practices; (c) curriculum planning; (d) teaching specific lessons or classes and (e) student control and discipline practices. Teachers could use one of five responses to indicate the degree of influence ranging from (1) a great deal, to (5) none.

Four indices concerning Influence and Autonomy were constructed:

1. Index of Individual Autonomy: (Q. 8) "How much influence do you have over your own..."[4]

2. Index of Group Influence on the Individual: (Q. 10) "How much influence do school committees, teams, or teacher groups (e.g., similar grade level or subject area) have over your own..."

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[4] It is, of course, possible to define autonomy in quite different ways: for example, the freedom from positive external influences. If one chose such a definition of autonomy, our measure could be understood to reflect teacher reports of their efficacy, or control over their immediate environments. The discussion which follows should be read with the particular conception of autonomy we are using in mind.

3. Index of Individual Teacher Influence on the Individual: (Q. 10) "How much influence do other teachers (separate individuals) have over your own..."

4. Index of Principal Influence on the Individual: (Q. 11) "How much influence does the principal have over your own..."

These indices were constructed in the same manner as those on interaction and evaluation.[5] The four indices were then trichotomized. This was done using the same cutting points on all four indices so that comparisons could be made between indices.

The percentage of teachers in open and self-contained classrooms reporting "high," medium," and "low" influence on each of these indices is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Influence on Individual Task Performance on Four Indices of Influence Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

			Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
a.	Index of Individual Autonomy:	High	86%	70%
		Medium	13%	21%
		Low	1%	9%
b.	Index of Individual Teacher Influence on the Individual:	High	15%	6%
		Medium	30%	23%
		Low	55%	72%
c.	Index of Group Influence on the Individual:	High	44%	18%
		Medium	37%	28%
		Low	19%	54%
d.	Index of Principal Influence on the Individual:	High	18%	38%
		Medium	46%	34%
		Low	36%	28%
		N(100%)	110	120

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[5] The items within each of the indices were substantially intercorrelated. See Appendix A.

The data in Table 6a show that large numbers of teachers in both open and self-contained classrooms perceive that they have a high degree of autonomy--or control over their own task performance. Teachers in open schools believe this to even a greater degree (86% are high on the index) than the teachers in self-contained classrooms (70% are high). This is quite surprising in view of the exposed work setting provided by the open school, in which the work of the teacher is visible to and open to comment by their colleagues and the principal. And it is especially surprising in view of the fact, shown by the data on Tables 6b and 6c, that open-school teachers are much more likely to perceive their colleagues as influential over their own task performances. The differences are particularly striking on the Index of Group Influence. Only 19% of the open-school teachers perceive this influence to be low, compared with 54% of the teachers in self-contained classrooms. The teaching team organization characteristic of the open school seems, in this finding, to have dramatic impact on the work of the individual teacher. This result even occurs when a comparison is made between the amount of influence teacher groups exert upon "teaching specific lessons or classes" in open schools and schools with self-contained classrooms. Although the task of teaching is a highly personalized task in any school, 44% of the teachers in open schools perceived they were influenced "a great deal" or "a considerable amount" by teacher groups as compared to only 18% of the teachers in self-contained classrooms.

The data in the first three parts of Table 6 suggest a result which has a paradoxical quality. Teachers in open schools see other teachers as affecting their own work much more, both as individuals and as groups.

In this respect their answers reflect field observations of the structural changes produced by the open school. Teachers do work together, affecting each other in many ways ranging from the schedule of work to specific modes of instruction. As the data presented earlier in this chapter show, these teachers interact more with each other, and exchange evaluations to a far greater extent than do teachers in self-contained classrooms. So it makes a great deal of sense to expect that open-school teachers will report being influenced by each other. The surprising and paradoxical finding is that this increase in mutual exchange and influence is accompanied by a perceived increase in teacher autonomy. This finding--an increase in mutual influence combined with an increased perception of their own autonomy--is an important one to explore. In Chapter 3, the meaning of teacher autonomy in open and self-contained classrooms is considered in detail.

A small part of the answer to the paradox may be contained in Table 6d. Clearly, the open school weakens one external source of influence on the teacher--the principal. Neither teachers in open schools nor those in self-contained classrooms are especially high on this variable--clearly teachers do not see principals as dominating bureaucratic figures managing the work of the school. But in self-contained classrooms, the principal is obviously the most influential external force, and is rated by the teachers as much more important in affecting their work than either teacher groups or individual influential teachers. In open schools, however, this declines sharply. Only 18% of these teachers rate their principal as high on influence, in contrast with 38% of those in self-contained classrooms. These teachers, clearly, see teacher groups as much more important sources of influence (44% to 18%).

Thus, more teachers in self-contained classrooms perceive that the principal exerts a high degree of influence over task performance. In light of the apparently small amount of task-related interaction, informal evaluation, and even formal evaluation between teachers and the principal in schools with self-contained classrooms, the principal's influence seems to stem from his position as the administrative officer of the school. Through formal positional authority, individual decision making and task performance are much more likely to be influenced, even if the principal is not in direct contact with the teacher.

While teachers in self-contained classrooms must deal with the principal in a one-to-one relationship, teachers in open schools receive much support from the team. The amount of influence the principal can exert upon any one teacher is lowered considerably because of the collegial authority structure that has developed. The group replaces the principal as the locus of authority and influence. Consequently, the greater amount of autonomy among open-school teachers may be accounted for by the reduction of the principal's authority.

Thus as the teaching team becomes more important in the open school, the influence of the principal over the work of the individual teachers sharply declines. But at the same time, the teachers' sense of their own autonomy, which is always high, also increases in the open school.

Influence within the School

How much influence do teachers and the principal have in the operation of the school? In comparison with teachers in schools with self-contained classrooms, we have found that open-school teachers feel they have more control over their own task performance while the influence of the principal is reduced. If these collegial control structures have been legitimized in open schools, will parallel patterns of influence emerge in relation to policy matters within the school? How much power do teachers and the principal have within the school?

Teachers were asked to indicate how much influence individual teachers, teacher groups, and the principal had over (a) determining the educational goals and objectives of the school; (b) establishing school rules and regulations; (c) student grading practices; (d) general curriculum planning; and (e) student control and discipline practices. Five response categories, ranging from (1) a great deal to (5) none, could be used to indicate how much influence was perceived for each item.

Three different indices of influence were constructed:

1. Index of Individual Teacher Influence within the School:[6] (Q. 13) "How much influence do individual teachers here in this school have over..."

2. Index of Teacher Group Influence with the School: (Q. 14) "How much influence do school committees, teams, or groups (e.g., same grade level or subject area) here in this school have over..."

3. Index of Principal Influence within the School (Q. 15) "How much influence does the principal have over..."

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[6] Note that questions 13 and 14 refer to "individual teachers" and "teacher groups" in general. We did not ask the teacher how much influence he himself has, nor how much influence his group(s) may have. This omission has implications for the discussion which follows in the text, and should be kept in mind. For example, a teacher's response to the "individual teacher influence" question may mean that the teacher thinks he has influence, or it may mean that the teacher thinks other teachers have influence while he does not.

In constructing each index, each teacher was given a score on each item corresponding to the response category used--a score of 1 (for those teachers perceiving a great deal of influence) to 5 (none). The scores on all five items were combined into the overall index.[7] The indices were then trichotomized, using the same cutting points to provide comparability.

Table 7 shows the perceived influence of teachers and the principal within open schools and schools with self-contained classrooms. The results in Table 7 are clearly related to those that have been discussed above. More open-school teachers perceive that they have a high degree of influence within the school and that the principal has low influence within the school as compared to their counterparts in schools with self-contained classrooms.

In the schools with self-contained classrooms, most teachers perceive that individual teachers and teacher groups have a low degree of influence. The principal is perceived to be most influential.

Although the self-contained classroom teachers perceive a high degree of individual autonomy (Table 6), they perceive the teacher to have little influence within the school as a whole. This clearly indicates that the main sphere of teacher influence in relation to decision making and task performance is the classroom. On the other hand, the open-school teachers seem to have developed a strong power base that not only results in higher individual autonomy, but extends throughout the entire school. The low degree of influence the principal exerts reflects the expanded decision making responsibilities of the open-school teachers.

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[7] The items within each index were substantially intercorrelated. See Appendix A.

TABLE 7

Influence of Individual Teachers, Teacher Groups, and the Principal within the School Reported by Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
a. Index of Individual Teacher Influence within the School:	High	40%	21%
	Medium	37%	28%
	Low	23%	51%
b. Index of Teacher Group Influence within the School:	High	39%	16%
	Medium	40%	23%
	Low	21%	61%
c. Index of Principal Influence within the School:	High	26%	40%
	Medium	46%	43%
	Low	29%	17%
	N(100%)	110	120

These findings on the radical alteration of interaction and influence patterns in open schools with team teaching are very similar to the findings of Pellegrin, who studied multiunit schools, also involving teams. Pellegrin made a sociometric study, asking both teachers and principals which other people in the school were essential to the performance of their tasks. Multiunit schools reveal much greater dependency between teachers within a unit than traditional schools.[8] Parallel to the reports of decreased influence of principals in the open school are Pellegrin's findings that teachers are not as dependent on the principal in the multiunit school as in the traditional school.[9]

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[8] R. J. Pellegrin, Some Organizational Characteristics of Multiunit Schools. Technical Report No. 8. Eugene, Oregon: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1970. Pp. 2-4.

[9] Ibid., pp. 7-9.

To further illustrate the differences in school-wide decision-making authority, two specific task areas can be examined: "Establishing School Rules and Regulations," and "General Curriculum Planning." The percentage of teachers perceiving individual teachers, teacher groups and the principal as having "a great deal" of influence in these two areas is shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Percentage of Teacher in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools Perceiving Individual Teachers, Teacher Groups and the Principal to Have a Great Deal of Influence over Two Policy Areas

	Two Policy Areas			
	% Perceiving a Great Deal of Influence over Establishing School Rules and Regulations		% Perceiving a Great Deal of Influence over Curriculum Planning	
	Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms	Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
Influence of Individual Teachers	30% (110)[a]	20% (120)	38% (110)	19% (120)
Influence of Teacher Groups	32% (110)	17% (120)	41% (110)	15% (120)
Influence of the Principal	34% (110)	53% (120)	17% (110)	23% (120)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

The differences between open-school and self-contained classroom teachers that were observed in the three general indices are preserved when two task-specific policy areas are examined. The sense of power among open-school teachers is distributed generally across a number of tasks. Open-school teachers perceive themselves to be much more efficacious, not only in relation to specific task performance, but within the total school structure.

Thus, the basic findings on teacher interaction and evaluation are maintained when the perceived patterns of influence in the school and over the work of the individual teacher are considered. The open school seems powerful in creating patterns of interaction, evaluation and influence focusing on the centrality of the teacher group or team in the conduct of instruction in the school. Individual teachers affect each other more, but the teacher group emerges as a new center of authority in the school. In some respects, it replaces the principal as the focal point of substantive school decision making, but this statement should be understood with an important qualification in mind. The role of the principal does not become weakened in the sense that interaction is lessened, or that evaluative rights are taken away. Rather, the open school greatly increases the total amount of interaction and the total number of evaluations which occur. Through this expansion, it reallocates relative influence in the school. Put in another way, the power of the teachers is greatly increased while that of the principal may be decreased only a little. The total amount of power--or authority--invested in the structure of the school is substantially increased.

Job Satisfaction

How do the changes described above affect the satisfaction teachers experience in their jobs? The open school clearly seems to change the work situation of individual teachers as well as the authority structure of the school. Instead of dealing with a group of students in the isolated setting of the self-contained classroom, removed from the help and scrutiny of colleagues and supervisors alike, teachers in the open school are exposed to the help, evaluation and influence of others. These changes can be seen as making new demands on the teacher, making the job more difficult. They can also be seen as creating new sources of satisfaction. What do the empirical data show?

An Index of Job Satisfaction was constructed from the teachers' answers to a number of questionnaire items:

Q. JS1: How satisfied are you with your present job? (Five answer categories, ranging from "very satisfied", scored 1, to "very dissatisfied", scored 5.)

Q. JS3: How satisfied are you with teaching as an occupation? (Answer categories same as with Question 1.)

Q. JS7: If you were offered a good job outside of education at a good salary, which did not involve such close contact with people, how likely would you be to accept? (Four answer categories, ranging from "very unlikely", scored 1, to "very likely", scored 4.)

Q. JS8: If you were offered a good job outside of education at a good salary which would involve close contact with people, how likely would you be to accept? (Same answer categories as Question 7.)

Q. JS9: If you were given the chance to go back to college days and start over, how likely would you be to choose teaching as a career? (Four answer categories, ranging from "certainly", scored 1, to "probably or certainly not", scored 4.)

Teachers' answers to these questions, scored in the indicated ways, were added together to constitute the index which was then trichotomized to divide the respondents into roughly equal groups. Obviously, the questions tap different aspects of job satisfaction. But teachers' answers to these various items were in fact interrelated, and to a limited extent they can be said to be capturing a single dimension.[10] More important was the need for a summary measure of job satisfactions and dissatisfactions, even though many specific dimensions might comprise it.

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[10] See Appendix A. It should be noted that most teachers in both types of schools report themselves to be satisfied with their jobs. Even those teachers who fell into the "low" category on our index do not say they are dissatisfied.

Table 9 shows the scores of teachers in open and self-contained classrooms on the Index of Job Satisfaction.

TABLE 9

Job Satisfaction Scores of Teachers in
Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
Job Satisfaction:	High	46%	28%
	Medium	33%	36%
	Low	22%	36%
	(N100%)	110	120

Teachers in open schools express considerably more job satisfaction than those in self-contained classrooms. Forty-six percent of the former, but only 28% of the latter, are high on the index. Pellegrin also finds that teachers in multinunit schools are more likely to be "highly satisfied" on his job satisfaction items than teachers in traditional schools.[11]

An examination of the results on specific job satisfaction items shows that the overall differences on the index result from small differences of much the same sort on every item. Fifty-five percent of the open-school teachers, but only 48% of those in self-contained classrooms, say they are "very satisfied" with their present job. The former are also more likely (71% to 65%) to report being "very satisfied" with teaching as a profession.

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[11] Roland J. Pellegrin, Some Organizational Characteristics of Multiunit Schools. Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1970. Technical Report No. 8, Pp. 9-10.

In response to questions not included in the overall index about specific dissatisfactions, they are slightly less likely to check each of the sources of dissatisfaction listed.[12]

On desire to leave the profession, the differences were larger. Open-school teachers were more likely to say that it was very unlikely that they would accept an outside job at a good salary, whether it involved close contact with people (36% to 18%), or did not involve such contact (65% to 40%). And when the teachers were asked whether they would choose teaching again if they were to start college over, 61% of the open-school teachers, but only 47% of those in self-contained classrooms, said they "certainly" would.

Thus the finding of greater satisfaction among open-school teachers runs throughout the items. It is not clear, of course, exactly where this greater satisfaction arises in the structure of the open school, and the analyses in the following chapters attempt to explore this question. The greater satisfaction could arise from the increased autonomy open-school teachers perceive--this possibility is considered in Chapter 3. Or it could result from the increased teacher influence in the school and the increased interaction opportunities for teachers in the open school, which are discussed in Chapter 4. Or it could result from the greater opportunities open schools provide for professional development, which is explored in Chapter 5.

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[12] Open-school teachers, that is, were less likely to indicate dissatisfaction with their own jobs or with the profession because (a) teaching takes too much time, (b) there is not enough opportunity to work with adults, (c) salaries are too low, (d) teachers don't get enough respect in the community, (e) teachers lack autonomy, and (f) classes are too large. The differences between open-school and self-contained classroom teachers are usually quite small, but are extremely consistent.

Finally, the greater satisfaction of open-school teachers could result from factors which have nothing to do with the open-school structure itself. As a new and exciting innovation, the open school may generate a "Hawthorne effect," apart from any of its specific features. Teachers may find it rewarding to get involved in a new venture which is interesting, flexible, and prestigious. Related to this is the possibility that open schools tend to select teachers who are more satisfied with, and interested in, teaching. It is doubtful that formal social background factors are involved, and indeed this possibility is checked in Chapter 1. But open schools tend to select teachers who want to teach with the new arrangements. In doing so, they may select teachers who tend to be more satisfied generally. Teachers who have made in the hiring process a personal commitment to trying out the features of the open school, may experience a special additional source of satisfaction arising from having made, and having been especially free to make, a personal choice about their work setting. There is no proof that the greater satisfaction of open-school teachers so visible in these data does not arise from this somewhat spurious source.

Summary

The organizational changes involved in the open school make a dramatic difference in the work of the teacher. Teachers in these schools interact with their colleagues much more than other teachers. They evaluate each others' work, and what is more, tend to treat such forms of evaluation as right and proper. They perceive the status of the teacher to be much more significant in the school, and see teachers as having more influence both over school policy and over their own work. At the same time, they feel that they have more autonomy than do teachers in self-contained classrooms.

The teachers do not report increased interaction with, or evaluation by, the principal. Consequently, they see the principal's relative influence as decreased in the teacher-centered structure of the open school. Finally, open-school teachers report considerably greater job satisfaction than other teachers. The following chapters examine the processes by which the open school produces these effects.

Chapter 3

AUTONOMY, ISOLATION AND JOB SATISFACTION

The open school, the data in the previous chapter show, sharply changes the work situation of the individual teacher. Instead of working rather privately in a classroom with a group of students, the teacher now works in public as a member of an interdependent team. The teacher gains the right and the opportunity to affect the work of the other members of the team, but must be in continual interaction with them and can no longer make many decisions in isolation. And with this interaction comes an increase in the evaluation of the work of the individual teacher by others. The open school also dramatically increases, in the perceptions of its teachers at least, the power of the teacher group over the work of the teacher.

Thus, the open-school teachers are more likely to report that groups of teachers have influence over all kinds of organizational and substantive decisions. But, they are also more likely to report having control over their own activities, than are teachers in self-contained classrooms. Assuming that the questions concerning control over one's own activities are reasonable indicators of autonomy, this difference in the two samples is very surprising. From many points of view the teacher in the more traditional classroom appears to be far more "autonomous." Although principals have the right to direct them in some respects, they rarely do so. Because of infrequent visitors and closed doors, the teacher seems to be free to do as he or she pleases. Teachers in these traditional settings often pursue curricula as they see fit and make decisions about individual students without outside assistance or interference. In contrast, in the open schools, teachers on teams must somehow cope with the possibly conflicting opinions of other teachers in these same control areas. Why should sharing decision making with other teachers instead of dealing directly, but infrequently, with the principals make teachers feel that they have more control over their own affairs?

In order to explore this puzzle, it is helpful to examine the meaning of the autonomy questions in the two settings by studying the way teachers' answers are related to their responses to other variables. It is possible that teachers in self-contained classrooms may not actually perceive their state as one involving power over the small world of the classroom. They may rather see themselves as neglected, as relatively isolated from the help and support of authorities and colleagues, and as isolated from control over the most important decisions made in the school.

The first question for investigation in this chapter, then, is "Why do teachers in open schools have a greater sense of autonomy than those in self-contained classrooms?" The second question has to do, not with the causes, but with the consequences of teacher autonomy. Does the greater sense of autonomy of open-school teachers account for some of their greater sense of job satisfaction? Pursuit of this question begins a line of inquiry continued in the following chapters. What characteristics of the open school increase teachers' satisfaction with their jobs?

The Meanings of Autonomy: Isolation and Efficacy

To measure autonomy, teachers were asked five questions about how much control they had over their own teaching activities. It should be noted explicitly that these questions, like the concept of autonomy itself, have two quite distinct meanings. Much of the analysis of the autonomy measure in this chapter and the next is primarily concerned with discovering what the questions really meant to the teachers. In discovering what teachers mean when they say they control their own work, the hope is to learn a good deal about the role of the teacher. Teachers' answers to these questions indicate indirectly their conception of the settings in which they work.

Teachers' reports of their control over their own activities can reflect their isolation from external pressures. Teachers who answer in this way are depicting their work as planned and organized, in other words, as effectively under the control of the school organization. The question they are then answering is "Who within the school organization actually controls the organized activities of teaching?" The teacher (among those influenced by this perspective) who is effectively isolated or insulated from external pressures can then answer this question "I do." The teacher who is not protected answers the question "the principal--or somebody else--does." Autonomy in this sense means control over a known and definite set of decisions, and when we refer to the autonomy of the teacher, we mean the teacher's control over his own known and definite list of teaching actions or decisions.

But autonomy has another meaning too. Teacher reports of control over their own activities can reflect effectiveness or efficacy of their control over their work. The question they are then really answering is "Have you been able to bring your work under control, or does it remain uncontrolled?" The teacher who has been able to effectively plan and organize his work can then answer "I control my work." The teacher who has not done so is then answering "Nobody controls my work. It is unorganized, and at the mercy of school traditions or customs, and the unplanned routine of the school."

Thus, one kind of teaching autonomy consists of the teacher's isolation from the active coordination of his work by external forces, autonomy in the other sense consists of the teacher's effective coordination of his own work in contrast to the passive lack of coordination. Autonomy in the first instance is in contrast to subordination; in the second instance it is the opposite of passivity.

Analysis of the autonomy questions begins with the observation that to some extent the second meaning of autonomy may have predominated in the orientations of the teachers. The finding that open-school teachers reported greater autonomy than those in self-contained classrooms cannot mean that the former are more isolated than the latter. The external involvement (and pressures) created by the open school are too obvious to leave that as a viable possibility. It seems likely, thus, that the more positive answers to the autonomy questions reported by the open school teachers indicate their sense, not of freedom from external interference, but of a broadened personal control over a wider range of aspects of the job. That is, these teachers, in answering the autonomy questions were reporting their sense of efficacy, or effective control over the classroom environment.

It might perhaps have been more accurate to call our measure of teacher autonomy the Index of Teacher Efficacy, if this interpretation of questions is correct. This would have been too simple for two reasons. First, efficacy is one of the legitimate aspects of the broader concept of individual autonomy and can quite properly be included in its measurement.

Second, it turns out in analysis that the autonomy questions may have meant different things in the two organizational contexts under examination. The examination of empirical data relevant to the several meanings of the concept is an important part of the analysis. Autonomy may have quite different meanings depending on the character of the organizational pressures faced by a teacher.

Autonomy and Experience

Open-school teachers, of course, scored considerably higher than those in self-contained classrooms on the overall Index of Individual Autonomy. Eighty-six percent of the former, but only 70% of the latter received high scores. It turns out that this overall difference is composed of similar differences on each of the items of which the index is composed. The teachers were asked how much influence they had over their own (a) administration of school rules, (b) grading, (c) curriculum planning, (d) teaching specific lessons, and (e) discipline practices.[1] In each one of these areas, open school teachers reported that they had more influence. Thus, in the open schools , sense of teacher autonomy is not restricted to a few areas, but covers the entire range of issues about which we asked. The differences between the two types of schools were not extremely large--but they always ran in the same direction.

If the open school is seen as fundamentally transferring power and authority to the teaching team--the working group of teachers functioning in a given multi-classroom space--the increased sense of autonomy of one type of teacher makes eminent sense. Those teachers have certainly gained in autonomy who by virtue of their experience, competence, knowledge of the resources and facilities involved in elementary school teaching, and prestige and influence in the school are able to control to a substantial degree the work of the teaching team. Instead of working in and controlling the restricted personnel, space, and facilities of the traditional classroom, they can now operate in, and presumably manage, a much more complicated and resourceful teaching structure, including the work of a number of individuals.

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[1] Question 8, Part CA, Appendix B.

By the same token, it seems obvious that some teachers lose autonomy in the open school. Less competent, less confident, less assertive teachers may find their work increasingly organized around the ideas and suggestions of others. In the self-contained classroom, this is hardly possible--teachers are not in interaction enough, and are not interdependent enough for the teaching style or strategy of one to effectively control the behavior of others. But in the open school, with its enforcement. in effect, of collaborative work, it seems quite reasonable to expect some teachers to have their work organized, and in some measure controlled by others.

Without effective measures of teacher competence or agressiveness, it is impossible to see how these characteristics might affect the relative sense of autonomy of teachers in open and self-contained classrooms. There is, however, one measure of a characteristic which should operate in much the same way--teachers' previous teaching experience. Experienced teachers should be able to dominate the life of an open school to a much greater degree than inexperienced ones. They have the tremendous advantage of familiarity with the mechanics of teaching--the materials, the facilities, their own role, and above all the pupils.

It is anticipated, then, that teaching experience will be much more closely related to a teacher's sense of autonomy in open schools than in self-contained classrooms. In the latter setting, probationary teachers and those with a great deal of experience should show much more similar levels of autonomy. But in the open school, experienced teachers should be found to report a very high level of autonomy, while new teachers should report being the targets of the advice and control of the teachers who are more familiar with their work.

Table 1 shows the relevant data. The teachers are classified by the amount of prior teaching experience they reported. For those with each level of experience, the proportion with high scores on the Index of Individual Autonomy is shown.[2] Especially interesting are the results for beginning teachers--those who reported less than two years of prior experience.

TABLE 1

Individual Teacher Autonomy, According to Years of Prior Teaching Experience: Separately for Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % high on Index of Individual Autonomy.)	Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
Prior Teaching Experience:				
Under 2 years	50%	(18)[a]	36%	(25)
2-5 years	71%	(41)	48%	(25)
6-10 years	63%	(30)	51%	(35)
More than 10 years	71%	(17)	28%	(25)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers on which percentages are computed.

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[2] The indices for the tables in this chapter were dichotomized with approximately 50% of all the teachers falling into the "High" and 50% falling into the "Low" category.

The data in Table 1 confirm this line of reasoning. Beginning teachers in open schools report scores which are only 14 percent higher than those of beginning teachers in self-contained classrooms. But open-school teachers with more than two years of prior experience report very high--and interestingly enough, stable--autonomy levels. Apparently, control over work in the open classroom is not restricted to a few teachers of extraordinary competence. It is, rather, managed by the professional "company of equals"; those teachers who know their jobs and are familiar with "the ropes" involved in teaching. This conclusion is strongly suggested by the finding that teachers with 2-5 years of experience report similar autonomy levels to those of teachers with 6-10 and over 10 years of experience.

Experienced teachers in self-contained classrooms do not show the startling increase in autonomy characteristic of those in open schools. Their scores increase somewhat with experience--and then drop off rather sharply among those teachers with more than ten years of experience. It is not clear what this finding means. It is not an accidental result on one or two indicators of autonomy, but shows up on each of the items. Perhaps it is a chance deviation resulting from the concentration of teachers with unusual characteristics in this part of our sample, although no such attribute of this group appears in the data analysis. This finding may have some substantive significance. Perhaps more experienced teachers in traditional settings, as they achieve more and more command over the limited world of the classroom, eventually grow restive about their limited ability to exercise much control over wider resources, or over the larger policy structure of the school. Perhaps these teachers eventually come to redefine what they once experienced as autonomy in a new light, and come to believe that their control covers only what no one else cares about.

Whatever the explanation of the drop in autonomy among the most experienced teachers in self-contained classrooms, the overall pattern of Table 1 confirms expectations. The teacher's sense of autonomy increases sharply after the first few years of experience in open schools, but does so much less in self-contained classrooms. Teachers' answers to the autonomy questions referred, thus, at least in part to their overall freedom from external interference. Clearly, this is why the autonomy scores of experienced teachers in the open schools are so high. They experience their work setting as providing them with additional (and interpersonal) methods to carry out their teaching plans. In interpreting their increased control over classroom events as autonomy, they are indicating what the autonomy questions meant to the respondents.[3]

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[3] It would be possible to construct the same argument about men and women teachers made about more and less experienced teachers. By all accounts, male elementary school teachers are much more oriented toward leadership than female teachers. Opportunities are open for them for promotion to supervisory positions. The aspiration to such positions is almost assumed by all parties to be a characteristic of men teachers, and not an aspiration of the women. In this situation it seems quite reasonable to expect that the open classroom would especially provide opportunities for male teachers to control the situation and then to perceive themselves as autonomous. The limited data available do not confirm this expectation. Neither in open schools nor in self-contained classrooms do the few male teachers in our samples report substantially higher autonomy scores. This could result from many factors, but speculation is difficult because there are so few men teachers in either sample that random variations could be responsible for differences or for the absence of such differences.

Autonomy and Job Satisfaction

The tendency of open-school teachers to be more satisfied with their jobs is quite strong, and various parts of the data analysis are never able to account for it completely. The introduction of a number of explanatory factors does reduce the relationship, especially in a few sub-groups. But in the main, and in most of the sub-groups examined in this analysis, there remains a strong tendency for open-school teachers to be more satisfied with their jobs than their counterparts in self-contained classrooms.

Nevertheless, there is a consistent relationship between the perception of autonomy and job satisfaction, especially in the open-school setting. The relevant data are shown in Table 2. Teachers in both settings are classified by the level of autonomy they report. For each level of autonomy, the proportion high on the job satisfaction index is shown. These data are examined with two problems in mind. First, what is the relationship between autonomy and job satisfaction in each organizational setting? Second, are the differences in job satisfaction between open-school teachers and those in self-contained classrooms reduced when perceived teacher autonomy is held constant?

TABLE 2

Job Satisfaction Scores According to
Perceived Level of Teacher Autonomy: Separately
for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % high on Index of Job Satisfaction.)		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
Index of Individual Autonomy:	High	72% (46)[a]	47% (32)
	Medium	61% (41)	37% (41)
	Low	39% (23)	36% (47)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers on which percentages are computed.

Table 2 shows three results of interest to our analysis. First, autonomy is indeed related to job satisfaction in both organizational settings. Those teachers who report having a high level of influence over their own work are also considerably more likely to say they are satisfied with their jobs. This is, of course, not an astonishing result--by and large, one of the features of work which has long been known to be a source of satisfaction is an individual's sense of control over his own work activity.

The second important result of Table 2 is the finding that even though autonomy--which is, of course, much higher in the open school--is related to job satisfaction, the differences between the two types of schools in job satisfaction remain substantial. Comparing the rows of the table, open-school teachers, no matter what their autonomy level, are more likely to be satisfied with their work than are teachers in self-contained classrooms. This simply means that while the sense of autonomy is one factor accounting for the differences in satisfaction between teachers in the two settings, it is by no means the only factor.

Table 2 shows a third result--one that is central to the problem of this chapter. In both types of schools, teachers who feel they have autonomy are more satisfied with their jobs. But the difference is much greater among teachers in open schools. Among these teachers, the difference in job satisfaction between those perceiving high autonomy and those perceiving low autonomy is 33% (i.e., 72% to 39%). But among the teachers in self-contained classrooms, the difference in job satisfaction made by the autonomy measure is only 11%. Autonomy is a more important souce of job satisfaction in open schools, and a less important one in self-contained classrooms.

This finding is clearly of considerable significance to the attempt to explain the meaning of autonomy in the two organizational contexts. The finding suggests that autonomy may have quite different meanings in the two settings. In the open school, the autonomy measure may refer in good part to what has classically been meant by the concept of autonomy--namely, the individual's ability to control his own activities in a relatively immediate way. But it also seems, as the analysis of teaching experience indicated, to reflect the extent of an individual's influence in the work setting. In either case, it would seem autonomy is to be highly prized. Because of the exposed character of work in the open school, a teacher is subject to a good many daily pressures from other people. In such a setting, it may be quite important to an individual to be able to defend himself against at least some of these pressures.

In the self-contained classroom, autonomy is clearly less rewarding. The questions here, as in the open school, must have captured responses appropriate to the concept of autonomy--many teachers have been describing rather satisfying aspects of their independence (or unsatisfactory aspects of the opposite state). But in the self-contained classroom, much of what otherwise might be considered autonomy or freedom clearly does not increase the job satisfaction of the teacher. His independence may be relatively contained, and may appear to constitute, not the freedom to act in new directions, but rather isolation in a ritualized and routinized work situation. In the self-contained classroom, that is, independence may be under so little organizational threat that its defects can appear almost as impressive as its virtues.

Experience, Autonomy and Job Satisfaction:

The findings above raise some questions about the kinds of teachers who might be expected to find teaching in the open school especially satisfying. Earlier in this chapter, it was observed that inexperienced teachers in open schools do not share the general sense of teacher autonomy characteristic of such schools, but rather appear to be under a good deal of supervision from the more experienced teachers. The analysis above shows that autonomy, in such schools, is an important source of job satisfaction. These findings suggest that work in open schools might be especially satisfying for more experienced teachers who find in the open school a chance to play leadership roles, and to take initiatives beyond the range of those possible in the more limited structure of the self-contained classroom.

The relevant data are shown in Table 3. Teachers are classifed by their degree of prior teaching experience, and for each group the proportion high on the job satisfaction index is shown. Teachers in the two organizational settings are considered separately.

TABLE 3

Job Satisfaction by Number of Years of
Prior Teaching Experience: Separately
for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % high on Job Satisfaction.)		Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
Years Prior Teaching Experience:	Under 2	39%	(18)[a]	36%	(25)
	2-5	61%	(41)	36%	(25)
	Over 5	70%	(47)	38%	(60)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers on which percentages are computed.

The data in Table 3 confirm the prediction. In open schools, job satisfaction increased sharply with teaching experience. Presumably the influence and autonomy which the older teachers acquire in these schools is an important source of their unusual levels of satisfaction. The beginning teachers in these schools, on the other hand, are no higher on job satisfaction than are teachers in self-contained classrooms. Whatever joys the beginning teacher in the open school may experience are presumably mitigated by the feeling of a lack of autonomy--they may even feel like subordinates in the classrooms.

In self-contained classrooms, on the other hand, the level of job satisfaction remains essentially constant across the experience groups. Teachers with little experience react about the same way as teachers with a great deal of experience. This finding, of course, refers back to a theme which was important in planning this study, and which will come up again in Chapter 5. Elementary school teaching in the traditional setting is a peculiar profession, in that there are very few routes to distinctive advancement or distinctive professional success. The experienced teacher faces the same job situation as the inexperienced one. Experience is not turned, for the most part, into organizationally defined leadership, or the right to exercise unusual influence in the school. Nothing in the work situation itself changes. Perhaps the lack of relation between experience and job satisfaction among teachers in self-contained classrooms reflects this basic fact.

Summary

Investigation of teachers' reports of their autonomy starts with the fact that teachers in the rather exposed setting of the open school report considerably higher work autonomy than do teachers in self-contained classrooms. This finding turns out to be especially characteristic of the more experienced teachers. Teachers with little experience are low on autonomy in open schools, suggesting that they tend to be shifted into rather subordinate positions in the complex structure of the open classroom.

Autonomy turns out to be an important source of teacher job satisfaction, particularly among open-school teachers. Presumably, in this setting, establishing autonomy is one of the major problems a teacher must solve, in the face of a rather high level of pressure from the collegial structure. Teachers who solve the problem are much more satisfied with their jobs. In self-contained classrooms, however, autonomy is less important as a source of job satisfaction, apparently because the basic problems teachers face in these settings have more to do with their isolation than with attempts by others to intrude into their own private working space or rights.

As the line of reasoning above suggests, job satisfaction rises sharply with experience in open schools. It does not increase with experience in self-contained classrooms. In this setting, the role of the teacher is apparently not expanded enough as his competence develops to provide for a higher level of satisfaction.

The data on autonomy and experience specify to some extent, but do not substantially explain or account for the differences in job satisfaction between teachers in open and self-contained classrooms. Autonomy is one factor, apparently among many, responsible for this basic difference.

Chapter 4

INFLUENCE, INTERACTION AND JOB SATISFACTION

The findings of the previous chapter make it clear that teachers in open schools feel they have greater control over their own work--autonomy--than teachers in self-contained classrooms. This kind of autonomy is important to teachers, and it is clearly related to the degree to which they are satisfied with their jobs. The greater autonomy experienced by teachers in open schools accounts in some part for the greater satisfaction of these teachers with their positions, but it is not the only--or even the most--significant factor. The differences between job-satisfaction scores of teachers in open-school and self-contained classrooms in these analyses remain substantial, even when teachers' scores on the autonomy index are held constant.

This chapter reports the way two other classes of factors may explain why the organizational changes accompanying the open school seem to make the teachers more satisfied with their work. First, the social influence which teachers as a group gain over policies and decisions in the open school is considered. The descriptive data in Chapter 2 show that open-school teachers report that teacher groups in their schools have vastly more influence over school policy than teachers in self-contained classrooms. Does this greater teacher group influence--this increase in the authority of the teacher's social status in the school structure--explain some of the greater work satisfaction these teachers report?

Second, open-school teachers report greatly increased interaction with each other. They are much more likely than teachers in self-contained classrooms to report both informal and formal discussions with other teachers about job-related matters. They are also much more likely to receive feedback and advice from other teachers about their work. It is possible that these increases in interaction with other teachers explain--even apart from teacher influence and autonomy--some of the increases in job satisfaction found in the open schools. The literature on teaching commonly notes the extraordinary isolation of the typical elementary-school teacher--the extent to which these teachers spend almost all their work time either alone or with their pupils, and the corresponding extent to which they are isolated from professional and peer contacts. Perhaps opening up the classroom, whatever benefits it may have for students, helps to expand the world of the teacher by providing fellow workers for discussion, planning, criticism, gaining some perspective or distance from the day-to-day tasks, and so on. The hypothesis considered is that increased interaction rates, *per se*, increase the job satisfaction of teachers, and account for the increases in satisfaction which are found in the open school.

This analysis of the effects of teacher group influence and teacher interaction must also be concerned with their interrelationships with teacher autonomy, as reported in the previous chapter. Analysis of teachers' reports of increased autonomy in the open school led to the inference that this effect may result from the increased authority invested in these schools. This authority seemed to make the teachers feel more in command of their positions, and led them to perceive themselves as having more autonomy, despite the obvious organizational facts which seem to militate against this perception. In this chapter this question is approached again by considering the interrelationships of measures of teacher interaction, influence, and autonomy, as well as the joint effects of these variables on job satisfaction.

The Impact of Teacher Group Influence Within the School

Chapter 2 reports the answers of the respondents to a series of questions on the influence of teacher groups in the school. The teachers were asked (Q. 14) "How much influence do school committees, teams, or groups here in this school have over...?" They were asked this question about five separate topics. The answers were combined into an Index of Teacher Group Influence within the School. The open-school teachers were found to report far greater teacher influence. Only 21% of them, compared with 61% of the teachers in self-contained classrooms, fell into the "low influence category" in the Index.[1]

The issue here, however, goes beyond simply describing the differences between the two types of schools. Does teacher group influence make a difference in the degree to which teachers are satisfied with their jobs? And in particular, does the sharp difference between open school and self-contained classrooms in teacher influence produce the difference between the two types of schools in job satisfaction?

To study these questions, Table 1 shows the job satisfaction scores of teachers in open schools and self-contained classrooms, with the teachers also classified by their teacher group influence scores. The table may be looked at in two ways. First, looking down each column of the table, are teachers more satisfied if they believe teacher groups have more influence in running the school? In other words, does teacher influence produce job satisfaction? Secondly, looking across each row, does the difference in job satisfaction between open-school and self-contained classroom teachers remain, even when teacher group influence is held constant?

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[1] Different cutting points are employed in the analysis of the influence and interaction variables in this chapter than were employed in Chapter 2. There we were interested in comparing the overall scores of the teachers on a number of different variables. Here we were interested in classifying scores on the indices so that enough cases fall into each category to permit multivariate analysis. In this chapter, variables are dichotomized or trichotomized so as to put an approximately equal number of teachers in each of the groups so created.

TABLE 1

Job Satisfaction According to Teacher Group Influence Scores: Separately for Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % high on the Job Satisfaction Index.)		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
Index of Teacher Group Influence within the School:	High	67% (43)[a]	45% (20)
	Medium	56% (50)	45% (29)
	Low	59% (17)	35% (71)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

Table 1 shows two results. First, teacher group influence does indeed make a small difference in job satisfaction. In both types of schools, those teachers seeing teacher groups as more influential are slightly more likely to be satisfied with their jobs. Second, the large differences in job satisfaction between teachers in the two organizational settings remain, even when teacher group influence is held constant. That is, teacher group influence differences do not explain why teachers report more satisfaction with their jobs in open schools.

This analysis can be expanded to consider simultaneously the effects on teacher satisfaction of individual autonomy and group influence. Does the group influence index retain its effects on job satisfaction, even when the autonomy scale, discussed in Chapter 3, is held constant? First, it must be noted that the two scales are substantially related. Table 2 shows the result when the Teacher Group Influence Index and the Autonomy Index are cross tabulated.

TABLE 2

Teacher Autonomy According to Teacher Group Influence Scores: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % reporting high autonomy.)		Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
Index of Teacher Group Influence:	High	63%	(43)[a]	55%	(20)
	Medium	32%	(50)	31%	(29)
	Low	18%	(17)	17%	(71)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

Table 2 shows two results of considerable interest. First, there turns out to be a very strong relationship, in both types of schools, between the influence measure and individual autonomy. In open schools, for example, the proportion of teachers reporting high autonomy goes from only 18% among teachers reporting little teacher group influence to 63% among those perceiving high influence. In a sense, this is a surprising finding along the same lines that we explored in the previous chapter.

There is no automatic reason to believe that greatly increasing the power of the teacher group over school affairs would also increase each teacher's own sense of individual control over her own job situation. In fact, it is quite possible to imagine a negative relationship between these two variables--a social structure in which group power is gained at the sacrifice of individual autonomy. The fact that we find, instead, a strong positive relationship suggests that the autonomy lost to other teachers and to teacher groups in team teaching and similar arrangements is far more than regained in greater overall teacher control.[2]

This leads to the second major finding of Table 2. Once teacher group influence is held constant, open and self-contained classrooms no longer differ significantly in scores on the Autonomy Index. This reinforces the previous chapter's conclusion that the reason why open-school teachers report higher levels of autonomy is precisely because of the increased overall authority of the teacher group. They conceive of this group power as creating more personal control over their own work. Once this basic variable is held constant, the difference between the two types of schools almost disappears. Or, following a more complex argument, once teacher group influence is held constant, the further gains in autonomy created by the open school setting are evenly matched with the teacher's loss of autonomy to the teacher group.

Thus, the changed status and influence of the teacher's position in the open school appears to be a pivotal variable in this analysis. It gives the teacher greater capacity to manage many different features of the job. By making teachers perceive themselves as more autonomous, it operates--as seen in the previous chapter--to make them more satisfied with their positions.

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[2] It should also be remembered that our definition and measure of autonomy strongly emphasize those aspects of the concept connoting individual efficacy rather than freedom from external pressures.

The question now arises: What is the effect of teacher group influence on job satisfaction, independent of that created through the autonomy variable? There is a small association between teacher influence and job satisfaction. Perhaps this is to be accounted for by the greater autonomy which accompanies teacher influence, and which is also related to job satisfaction. Perhaps, on the other hand, both variables independently contribute to job satisfaction.

Table 3 shows the appropriate data. Teachers are classified by both the group influence and the autonomy variable (both variables are dichotomized, rather than trichotomized, to conserve sample sizes). Teachers in open schools and self-contained classrooms are also, of course, separated. The table shows the proportion of teachers in each group who are high on the Index of Job Satisfaction.

Table 3 is complex, and unfortunately there are not enough cases in all of its cells to permit confidence about the exact results. But the overall outline of the findings is clear. Both teacher group influence and teacher autonomy independently affect job satisfaction. The effect of group influence is stronger in self-contained classrooms, and the effect of autonomy is stronger in open schools (confirming the picture in the previous chapter of the lowered meaning and significance of this variable in self-contained classrooms where isolation, not autonomy, is the problem). But both variables seem to show small effects in both types of schools.

TABLE 3

The Independent Effects of Autonomy and Group Influence on the Job Satisfaction of Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % high on the Index of Job Satisfaction.)	Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
	Autonomy		Autonomy	
	High	Low	High	Low
Teacher Group Influence:				
High	70% (56)[a]	50% (20)	50% (22)	50% (14)
Low	67% (15)	42% (19)	41% (29)	31% (55)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

Thus the question raised about the degree to which teacher-group influence leads to positive job satisfaction can be answered with some clarity. Such a difference is found in all four of the comparisons made possible in Table 3.

Table 3 also shows no success in accounting for all of the differences in job satisfaction between open-school and self-contained classrooms. Even after teachers' answers to the influence and autonomy questions are taken into account, substantial differences (in three out of the four comparisons thus created) still remain between the two types of schools. Exactly why this is so is unknown, and further data do not add much to the explanation. Part of the difference probably lies with the "Hawthorne effect"--the tendency of new and exciting innovations to add to the satisfaction of participants simply by virtue of the added gratifications involved in creating and participating in new institutions. But it is also likely that some of the satisfaction differences result from additional factors which have not been considered. For instance, it seems quite plausible that open-school teachers feel that their organizational setting makes it possible for them to do a "better job," and that this in itself is satisfying.

A Note on the Decline in Influence of the Principal

The increase in influence of the teacher group is one source of the increased job satisfaction found among teachers in the open school. It is possible to argue that another change in influence structure found in these schools is also satisfying. As was reported in Chapter 2, open-school teachers are much less likely to report that their principal has strong influence over their work. When an Index of Principal Influence Upon the Individual was constructed by combining teachers' answers to five questions asking "How much influence does the principal have over your own...?" only 18% of the open-school teachers, compared with 38% of those in self-contained classrooms, received high scores. This sharp decline in principal influence might be thought to create among open-school teachers both the sense of autonomy and the satisfaction with their jobs which characterize them.

The data on Table 4 provide a clear answer to these questions. Teachers are classified by their scores on the Index of Principal Influence, and in the two parts of the table, the proportions high on the Autonomy Index and on Job Satisfaction are shown. The results in the two organizational settings are, of course, kept separate.

TABLE 4

(a) Autonomy Scores and (b) Job Satisfaction Scores According to Reported Principal Influence upon the Individual: Separately for Teachers in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
a. (Cell entries are % high on Index of Individual Autonomy)			
Index of Principal Influence upon the Individual:	High	63% (40)[a]	32% (59)
	Low	66% (70)	53% (61)
b. (Cell entries are % high on Job Satisfaction Index.)			
Index of Principal Influence upon the Individual:	High	60% (40)	39% (59)
	Low	61% (70)	39% (61)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

Table 4 shows primarily negative findings. In open schools, teachers who report that the principal has more influence over them are essentially no more likely to report that they are low in autonomy. In self-contained classrooms there is a noticeable effect--teachers reporting high principal influence are less likely to have high scores on autonomy. The second part of the table shows that in neither organizational setting do teachers reporting high principal influence say they are less satisfied with their jobs. It is clear that any increases in job satisfaction in open schools, then, cannot result from the decreased power of the principal--in neither setting is this a source of satisfaction.

The data in Table 4 again add weight to the conception of the special meaning of autonomy in self-contained classrooms. Teachers isolated from the power of the principal in this setting report somewhat greater autonomy, but clearly do not find this aspect of their autonomy satisfying. In answering the autonomy questions, then, they are in good part reporting their isolation, not any positive organizational resource which they possess.

Overall, the data in Table 4 eliminate the possibility that the open school improves the job satisfaction of teachers by providing, through the teacher group, a new source of control over the principal. The satisfactions resulting from the enhanced power of the teacher group are positive in character. They concern the increased ability of the teachers to carry out their own work, not an increased ability to defend themselves against pressures from the principal.

Interaction with Other Teachers

Behind both the influence and autonomy changes which the open school seems to create, lies a basic structural fact about these schools. The teachers all teach in the same physical area. They coordinate their activities. In a positive sense, they coordinate by making their jobs highly interdependent--taking maximal advantage of the possibilities of team teaching, joint teaching, combining large-group and small-group instruction, and so on. At the very least, they must coordinate their activities so that they do not interfere with each other by making too much noise, mistakenly planning incompatible use of the same space or facilities at the same time, agreeing on the appropriate distribution of both students and courses of study, and so on. All of this involves enormous amounts of work-related interaction among the teachers, and in Chapter 2 open-school teachers report great amounts of such interaction.

We now turn to examine how the interaction teachers have with each other affects the other variables under consideration. First, is this increased interaction a fundamental source of the increased group influence and individual autonomy which teachers in open schools perceive? Second, is it an independent source of work satisfaction? Does the opportunity to work with others--in particular with other adults, professional teachers--increase the interest and satisfaction an individual teacher finds in the job?

To study these two questions, two of the summary measures of the teachers' interaction networks developed in Chapter 2 can be used: the Index of Group Interaction, and the Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues. The first of these indices summarizes teachers' answers to six questions about their work-related interaction in teacher groups: "When you meet with school committees, teams, or teacher groups, how often do you discuss...?" The questions covered six different task areas. The Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues summarizes teachers' responses on five questions about their feedback from colleagues on work-related subjects: "How often do you receive feedback and/or advice from other teachers about your own...?" These two measures are examined in detail because they cover two quite different kinds of teacher interaction--reports that teachers simply discuss a topic, on the one hand, and reports that they exchange rather direct advice and comments about their work performance, on the other. These measures are also useful because they refer to areas in which the open school seems to greatly affect teacher behavior.

In other words, these measures capture some of the distinctive attributes of the interactional system of the open school.

In fact, as was shown in Chapter 2, the kinds of data captured by the two indices of interaction (Index of Group Interaction and Index of Informal Evaluation) differentiate sharply between open school and self-contained classrooms. On the Index of Group Interaction, 61% of the open-school teachers, but only 21% of those in self-contained classrooms, reported high scores. And on the Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues, the figures were also 61% and 32%. Open-school teachers, that is, report much more group interaction and informal feedback from their peers.

The effects of these summary measures of teacher interaction on teacher group influence can now be examined. Within both open and self-contained classrooms, it is expected that teachers who report more interaction will also perceive teachers as more influential. Table 5 shows the relevant data. Teachers are classified, in the two sub-tables, by their scores on the two interaction indices. In each case, the table shows the proportion of teachers who report that teacher groups are influential in the school.

The two sub-tables of Table 5 show the same general result: in both open schools and self-contained classrooms, increased teacher interaction is strongly associated with increased perceptions of strong teacher group influence. Teachers who interact with each other and who receive feedback from other teachers are much more likely to see the teacher group as having status and power in the school. Table 5 also shows that the differences in teacher influence between open and self-contained classrooms persist, even when teacher interaction is held constant. Presumably the influence changes created by the open school are more pervasive than can be captured with two rather simple measures of interaction. But clearly the interactional variables, group interaction and informal evaluation, are important factors in producing the changes.

TABLE 5

Teacher Group Influence According to (a) Group Interaction and (b) Informal Evaluation by Colleagues' Measures of Teacher Interaction: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % reporting high Teacher Group Influence.)	Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
a. Index of Group Interaction:				
High	52%	(50)[a]	43%	(21)
Medium	30%	(44)	14%	(36)
Low	25%	(16)	10%	(63)
b. Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues:				
High	39%	(49)	35%	(20)
Medium	54%	(37)	17%	(41)
Low	17%	(24)	10%	(59)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

If teacher interaction produces perceptions of teacher influence, does it also produce a greater sense of teacher autonomy? Table 6 shows the relevant data. Mirroring Table 5, each of the interaction measures is crosstabulated with teacher autonomy, separately for open and self-contained classroom schools. Of interest here is whether those teachers reporting more interaction also perceive themselves as having greater autonomy.

TABLE 6

Teacher Autonomy According to Formal Interaction and Informal Evaluation by Colleagues: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % reporting high Autonomy.)		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
a. Index of Group Interaction:	High	56% (50)[a]	33% (21)
	Medium	32% (44)	22% (36)
	Low	25% (16)	27% (63)
b. Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues:	High	47% (49)	30% (20)
	Medium	41% (37)	22% (41)
	Low	33% (24)	29% (59)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages are computed.

The sub-tables of Table 6 each show some tendency for increased teacher interaction to lead to increases in perceived autonomy. The differences are not so large as those in Table 5 dealing with teacher influence, but they are clearly present. In particular, the differences almost disappear among teachers in self-contained classrooms--apparently the distinctive meaning of autonomy (i.e., isolation) in such schools leads autonomy to show weaker relationships with the interaction measures.

It is important to notice, again, the sense in which this finding is surprising. Exactly as with earlier findings showing the strong correlation of teacher autonomy with teacher group influence, the increased involvement of teachers with (and perhaps, in a sense, subjection to) the ideas and interests of other teachers does not lead them to feel a loss of autonomy.

Instead, they perceive their autonomy--their control over their own work activities--to have increased. In other words, teachers identify their interests so strongly with those of their peers--the teacher group--that increases in their ties with this group, and its level of interaction and integration, lead them to feel that their own control over their activities is enhanced. This finding is a striking example of the effects of the open school, a structure which in many ways seems to provide for constant intrusions into the private work space and activities of the individual teacher. The teacher appears constantly to depend, in such schools, on the cooperation of the other teachers. Problems running from high levels of noise to complex and interdependent schedules must constantly be managed. Yet the reaction of the teachers studied was to perceive their autonomy to be greater than in the self-contained classroom.

Knowing that peer interaction increases teachers' perceptions of both their influence and their autonomy, the question arises: What is the effect of increased teacher interaction on job satisfaction? Both teacher influence and autonomy lead to increased job satisfaction, so it is reasonable to expect that the interaction rates which produce them will also be associated with satisfaction. The more complicated question might then come up: Does teacher interaction contribute to job satisfaction apart from its effects on autonomy and teacher group power? But this problem arises only after simple evidence on the direct association of the two variables has been dealt with.

Table 7 shows the effects of teacher interaction variables on job satisfaction. The two sub-tables each show the relationship for one of the two interaction measures which are used. In each case, of course, teachers in open and self-contained classrooms are separated, so the effects of interaction in the two structural settings are distinguishable.

TABLE 7

Teacher Job Satisfaction According to Group Interaction and Informal Evaluations by Colleagues: Separately for Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

(Cell entries are % high on Index of Job Satisfaction.)		Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
a. Index of Group Interaction:	High	56% (50)[a]	38% (21)
	Medium	71% (44)	39% (36)
	Low	50% (16)	40% (63)
b. Index of Informal Evaluation:	High	59% (49)	30% (20)
	Medium	60% (37)	42% (41)
	Low	67% (24)	41% (59)

[a] Figures in parentheses are base numbers upon which percentages were computed.

Both parts of Table 7 show a common result of considerable interest. There is no hint of a positive relationship between interaction with other teachers and job satisfaction. This relationship, which one could anticipate on the basis of the earlier findings, does not exist. If the data in Table 7 show any effect at all, it is a slight tendency of satisfaction to be negatively related to the teacher interaction variables. A suggestion of this appears in the second part of the table, but is probably not to be taken too seriously. Perhaps it indicates that the constant interdependence of the teachers in team teaching and open-school situations creates some dissatisfying pressures on the teachers, as well as a variety of other satisfying ones.

The significance of the finding of Table 7 for the ideas under consideration is very great. The open school greatly increases teacher interaction and interdependence. The autonomy and teacher group power this tends to create provide some positive satisfactions for the teacher. The interaction itself, however, does not. Or if it does, it is accompanied by enough annoyances to remove its direct value. Teachers may enjoy working with other adults--other teachers. Our data do not show this result. Teachers may find satisfying the professional contacts and group work opportunities--the increased coordination--provided by the open school and similar innovations. The data do not show this direct effect. They show that teachers find satisfying the increased group power and individual autonomy which may result from increased interaction, but the interaction itself does not seem to provide such gratifications.

Of course, it is also true that most of the differences in job satisfaction between teachers in open school and self-contained classrooms remain unexplained by this analysis. Autonomy and teacher influence are two factors which account for some of the relationship, while increased interaction and decreased principal influence do not do so, but most of the difference remains after the variables discussed here are taken into account. Of course, better measures of the particular variables under consideration might show stronger results. And it might be possible to add additional dimensions within the conceptual domain of influence and autonomy adding explanatory power. But it seems most likely that factors entirely outside our discussion may be of great importance, too.

Overview

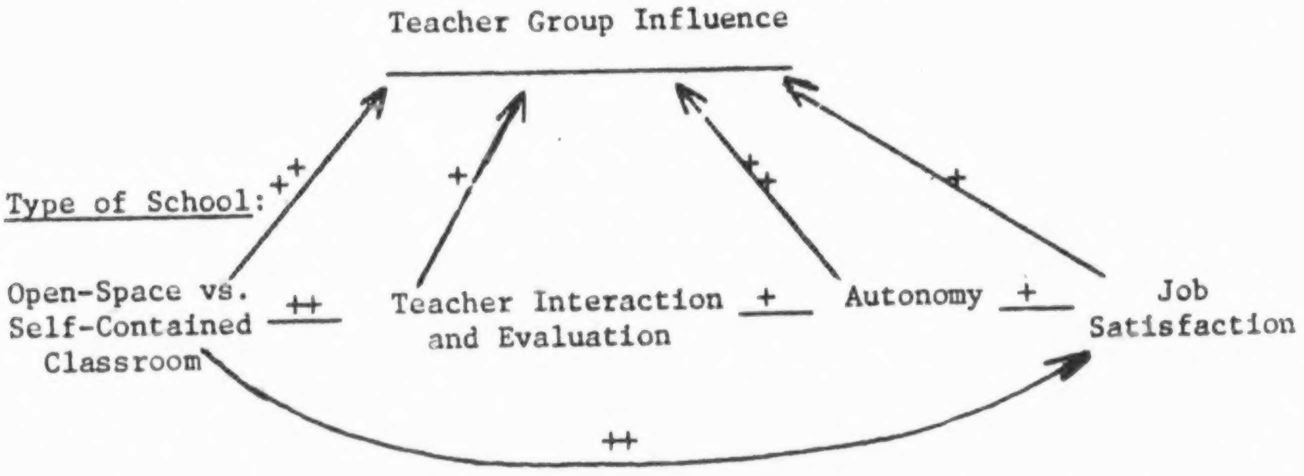
At this point, the analysis of the impact that the structure of the school has on the perceptions and satisfactions of its teachers can be reviewed. Three central variables are affected by the distinction between open and self-contained classroom schools, and in one way or another mediate the relationship between school organizational structures and the job satisfaction of individual teachers: Teacher Group Influence, Teacher Autonomy, and Teacher Interaction. All three variables are modified by open-space arrangements, which increase the amount of teacher interaction and perceptions of the influence of teacher groups in the school. Open schools also tend to create a sense of greater teacher autonomy, but this relationship is not really a direct one--when teacher group influence is held constant, it tends to disappear. Open schools increase both teacher interaction and teacher group power. These variables in turn increase teachers' sense of their own autonomy or efficacy.

Both influence and autonomy affect teachers' satisfaction with their jobs. To some extent these variables account for the effects on job satisfaction of the open school. But a very substantial effect of the open school on job satisfaction remains, even when these variables are held constant. Interestingly enough, teacher interaction rates are not directly related to job satisfaction, however. Any effects they may have occur through the other variables.

Overall, it is possible to diagram the propositions stated above. These are the propositions for which there is some support in this chapter and the preceding ones. An abbreviated path diagram showing the casual relationships which seem to operate is presented below.

Figure 2

Tentative Propositions on the Effects of Type of School on Teachers' Attitudes Toward Their Jobs


Teacher Group Influence
Type of School:
++
+
++
+
Open-Space vs. Self-Contained Classroom
++
Teacher Interaction and Evaluation
+
Autonomy
+
Job Satisfaction
++

Note: One plus denotes a relationship, two pluses denote a strong relationship.

The diagram shows the network of effects emerging from this analysis. Starting with the open school--the central variable of this design--there are several primary effects. Open schools increase (or self-contained classrooms decrease) the level of teacher interaction and evaluation, and also increase the authority of teacher work groups, both over individual teachers and over school policy. Teacher group influence is partly affected by teacher interaction rates, but this indirect effect is much smaller than the direct effect of school type. In other words, even when teacher interaction measures are held constant, open-school teachers report much higher levels of group influence.

Type of school also affects teachers' sense of their work autonomy--or control over their own teaching behavior. This appears not to be a direct effect, but rather results from the effect of type of school on teacher interaction and especially on teacher group influence. When these mediating variables are held constant, open school teachers no longer report higher levels of autonomy.

Both teacher group influence and teacher autonomy predict job satisfaction. These effects are not large, and only partly explain why teachers in open schools are more satisfied with their jobs than those in self-contained classrooms. Teacher autonomy shows a particularly small relation to job satisfaction among teachers in self-contained classrooms. Over and over in the data, it appears that to these teachers autonomy is heavily tinged with the isolation from the professional and collegial community, and is not especially attractive. Teachers in open schools, however, find maintaining their own autonomy a day-to-day problem in relating to their colleagues, and their job satisfaction scores are more highly related to their reported work autonomy.

One potential effect is missing from the findings, and hence from the summary propostions illustrated in Figure 2. Teacher interaction and mutual evaluation--the most immediate and direct effects of the open school--do not seem to directly affect job satisfaction. This is true even though they affect teacher group influence and autonomy, both of which affect job satisfaction. Teacher interaction and evaluation in themselves are not sources of job satisfaction.

Finally, the propositions in Figure 1 show a strong direct effect of school type on teacher job satisfaction. This indicates the important consequences of school type for teachers which are not captured in this analysis. This effect could be a transitory one, resulting from the newness, the involving spirit and creative opportunity, and the prestige characteristic of organizational innovations. If this is true, it poses an insoluble methodological difficulty for the present analysis. There is no way to be sure that the distinctive properties found in the open schools do not result from their very novelty and lack of routinization. Much of the analyzed effect open schools seem to have for teacher job satisfaction may be attributable to this source.

This is a less likely accounting, however, of the effects traced in detail, many of which make a good deal of sense in view of the structural changes built into the plan of the new-school architecture. It is unlikely that the teacher interaction, influence, and sense of autonomy characteristic of the open schools studied are transitory effects which will completely disappear when the novelty of the new arrangements wears off. They are, at least in part, a necessary part of the new organizational structure. The problem still to be investigated is whether teacher interaction, influence, and sense of autonomy will continue to be associated with job satisfaction.

Chapter 5

THE OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME AMBITIOUS

Teachers report that their major source of satisfaction lies in the students themselves. Actually, there are no special rewards for good teaching given by the organization, only satisfactions coming from seeing the progress and response of students. Many are quite sentimental over this state of affairs, feeling that this is as it should be because only such selfless idealists should handle precious children. Forgotten is the fact that in other professions where the welfare of the client is at stake, dependence on the client for gratification is seen as a clear danger to the nature of the professional-client relationship. For example, in social work, law, or medicine, dependency on the client is felt to lead to impaired judgment about what is in the client's best interest.

Beyond the question of dependency on the client lies a fundamental peculiarity in the occupation of public school teaching. Because the reward structure is so flat, there are few differences in the way teachers who are deeply committed and planning to make classroom teaching a life work are treated by the system in comparison to those who are only planning to make teaching a way station in their life careers. Tenure and salary increases come with years of service, but no special notice is taken of skill and strength of motivation.

Robert N. Bush, in his recent paper on the career teacher, asks the question:

> Does the status of the career teacher encourage, discourage or have little effect upon the decision of those who enter teaching to drop out and enter other careers? If the answer is that it encourages teachers to leave, then our second consideration becomes: What changes need to be made to improve the status of the career teacher?[1]

There is little systematic evidence of the nature of teacher dropout, but without a doubt a great many people leave the teaching profession. A study published by the U. S. Office of Education in 1963 indicates an annual net loss of teachers through teacher dropouts that exceeds 8%.[2]

There has been general concern over the lack of skill and experience in the teaching corps arising from the itinerant nature of the workers. But so often, in the professional world of education, one hears that teacher dropout is due to the presence of many young women who get married or become pregnant. The solution proposed is to raise the salaries and the proportion of male teachers simultaneously so that the profession will attract even more men who will not have such unstable work careers. Comparatively rare is the consideration of the problem raised by Bush, i.e., that the structure of teaching as an occupation may serve to drive out comparatively committed and ambitious members.

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[1] Robert N. Bush, "The Status of the Career Teacher: Its Effect upon the Teacher Dropout Problem." In The Teacher Dropout, T. M. Stinnett (Ed.), Itasca, Ill.: Peacock Publishers, 1970, p. 112.

[2] Teacher Turnover, 1959-60. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

> The power of teaching to hold those who enter the career is more serious than might appear at first glance, for not only do many teachers leave soon after beginning to teach, there is the allegation that often the best ones drop out most rapidly, leaving a disproportionate number of the less able to fill the ranks of those who become career teachers. This is a serious charge and since it has not been fully validated, it ought to be placed high on the list of projected research endeavors.[3]

More specifically, certain features of elementary school teaching may discourage the career-oriented ambitious teacher.

1. Teacher dissatisfaction studies show factors connected with limits of responsibility and influence in the nature of the job itself are as important as the obvious factor of salary.[4]
2. The lack of differential reward for competence, which does not provide either differential status among classroom teachers nor differential pay based on merit, may discourage ambitious teachers.
3. There are very few opportunities for women to be promoted to the ranks of school administration.

Increased Influence and Job Satisfaction

The open schools in our study did not represent a formal change in the chances for promotion to administration, in differential pay for competence, or even in differential pay for team leadership. Formal opportunities for women appeared no better in these schools than elsewhere. Thus the prediction that with the opening of new opportunities for promotion, there would be a sharp change in the attitudes and morale of certain ambitious teachers, was untestable.

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[3] Bush, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[4] Arthur Corey, "Overview of Factors Affecting the Holding Power of the Teaching Profession." In *The Teacher Dropout*, T. M. Stinnett (Ed.), Itasca, Ill.: Peacock Publishers, 1970, p. 3.

Open schools did represent, however, a marked change in perceived responsibility and influence on the part of the teachers. In line with Corey's empirical generalization, dissatisfaction was associated with lack of perceived influence to some extent in both organizational settings. (See Chapter 4.) Even more important is the finding that the increase in perceived influence, characteristic of the open schools, accounts for some of the increase in job satisfaction found in those schools. As was shown in Chapter 4, teachers in the open school who did not feel they controlled their own decisions and who did not perceive groups of teachers as influential were considerably less likely to be satisfied with their jobs; the percentage dissatisfied in this group was similar in the two settings. In other words, the increase in perception of autonomy and influence in the open-school setting accounts for part of the rise in the probability of job satisfaction. This is a more powerful finding than the mere association between teacher dissatisfaction and complaints about lack of influence because it shows an increase in satisfaction accompanying a structural change involving increased teacher influence.

Positive Peer Evaluation as Reward

There seemed to be no changes in formal evaluation of the teachers by the principal in the open schools. In a strictly formal sense, there were no more rewards for competent teaching in the new setting than there were in the traditional schools. Looking more closely at the interaction in teams of teachers, there appear to be some especially rewarding aspects of group process. In the team situation, a teacher who reports the success of a classroom technique or the handling of a child known to be a problem can and does receive the warm approbation of colleagues. In the many discussions of curriculum decisions, the ideas of each teacher on at least some of the many tasks are likely to be agreed upon and favorably evaluated by peers. There are many chances for praise and social support based on the sharing of professional and technical expertise. All the favorable evaluation does not necessarily flow to one dominant teacher; it may be rather evenly distributed over different times and tasks.

The favorable evaluation of colleagues should be especially rewarding to teachers who are professionally ambitious, teachers who enjoy and feel proud of their ability to display competence and to teach others how to achieve the same results. There are very few school systems where highly skilled teachers have available any promotion which does not remove them from the classroom. Nevertheless, there were many teachers in this sample who are oriented to the classroom and who desire recognition for their abilities.

One of the original research questions dealt with the response of ambitious teachers to the changes in school structure. Ambitious teachers who were basically oriented toward clinical skills and the classroom were seen as distinct from ambitious teachers who were interested in promotion opportunities into administration and away from the classroom. Ambition more closely related to classroom skills was called Professional Ambition; while ambition involving administrative promotion was called Vertical Ambition.

Index of Professional Ambition

The Index of Professional Ambition was constructed from the following items showing a substantial level of intercorrelation and clustering around the ideas of demonstration and teaching of high levels of professional skill:

Professional Ambition

Q 26. I would like the opportunity to help new young teachers develop classroom skills.

Q 32. I could see myself helping to lead a workshop on teaching techniques.

Q 34. I would be very interested in showing other teachers styles and techniques I've developed.

Q 35. I would be competent at making supervisory evaluations of the other teachers.[5]

In testing the prediction that professionally ambitious teachers would respond more favorably to the open-school setting because of the increased rewards of peer evaluation. Surprisingly enough there were quite a few more teachers with high scores on the Index of Professional Ambition in the open schools than in the self-contained classrooms. Table 1 shows the difference in percentage distributions of trichotomized scores on Professional Ambition. Ambition predictions were tested only on women because it was assumed that they would have a different orientation toward their occupational futures; there were too few men in the sample for a parallel analysis.

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[5] There was a very high level of intercorrelation of items on this index. See Appendix A, Table A16.

TABLE 1

Percentage Distribution of Trichotomized Scores
of the Index of Professional Ambition
in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools;
For Women Only

Professional Ambition	Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
High	32%	19%
Medium	42%	38%
Low	27%	42%
Total	100% (N=94)	100% (N=99)

Almost a third of the sample of women teachers in the open schools had a high score on the Professional Ambition Index, while only 19% of the women in the self-contained classroom had such scores. One possible interpretation of this difference is that open schools attract better prepared, more professionally oriented women. The comparison of experience and educational backgrounds of teachers in the two settings, reported in the first chapter, does not show this to be a very likely possibility.

Another possible interpretation is that the experience of working on teams in the open schools actually produces professionally ambitious responses to these items. We had not originally thought of ambition as a structural effect of the change in school organization but as a prior characteristic brought by the person to the new work experience. From the wisdom of a post hoc point of view, it is clear that work in the open schools does give women opportunities for activities similar to the ones described in the items. In one of the schools in our sample, the teams actually had the opportunity to travel around the country to demonstrate their skills as a successful team and to help others with team problems. It hardly seems unreasonable, looking at these results, to suppose that people might become ambitious when given the opportunity to try out new skills and to achieve new recognition for competence.

The original prediction was that more ambitious women would be more satisfied with their jobs in settings providing gratification for their goals. Table 2 indicates that women in the open schools with higher scores on the Professional Ambition Index are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than women who have low scores on Professional Ambition. The reverse is true for self-contained classrooms. This means that in the traditional setting, professionally ambitious women are less satisfied with their jobs than relatively unambitious women. It certainly looks as though some organizational arrangements for teaching can prove to be discouraging to the very people most educators would like to encourage.

With cross-sectional data, there is no great certainty that the organization provided opportunities for professionally ambitious women who came to teach in open schools. Assuming that the open school produced the response on the Professional Ambition Index, it is not too surprising that women who found they liked to play these new roles were also satisfied with their jobs. The organization probably created the professionally ambitious response and the job satisfaction at one and the same time. In order to document the growth of professional ambition, we need to study teachers entering the team teaching situation, observing them as they play new roles on the team and charting the change in their responses to the Professional Ambition Index. If the speculation is correct that open schools produce professional ambition, school planners and administrators may well ponder the future consequences to the structure of the occupation of all these women desiring the development of new professional roles. Interaction on a single team may not provide long-term gratifications for such professionally ambitious women; and they may want new fields to conquer in the near future.

TABLE 2

Professional Ambition and Job Satisfaction Among Women: For Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

Professional Ambition Score	Percentage High on Job Satisfaction[a]			
	Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
	N	%	N	%
High	30	53	19	21
Medium	39	49	38	26
Low	25	40	42	33

[a] The Index of Job Satisfaction was trichotomized with approximately one-third of all the teachers falling into the "High," "Medium," and "Low" categories.

Index of Vertical Ambition

The items in the Vertical Ambition Index are more centrally concerned with the lack of promotion opportunities open to women in the hierarchy of the school. Ambition in these items looks more like conventional desires for upward occupational mobility than in the previous index. The items of this index do not show the extremely high level of intercorrelation found in the Professional Ambition Index.[6] In a future study, some further refinement of the items on this index is desirable.

The questions defined as part of the Vertical Ambition Index are as follows:

Vertical Ambition

Q 4. In comparison with other teachers, I would say that I am a very ambitious person.

Q 6. I personally really wish good teachers got more recognition.

Q 18. If my school encouraged me in acquiring a supervisory certificate by financing me, I would be extremely interested.

Q 22. I have often thought that I would like to return to school for at least a year to improve my professional abilities as a classroom teacher.[7]

Q 29. It is very important to me to be in a school with many opportunities for advancement for the classroom teacher.

There was about the same distribution of "High," "Medium," and "Low" scores on the Vertical Ambition Index in the open schools as in the self-contained classrooms (see Table 3). It is probably safe, therefore, to look at the level of vertical ambition as a characteristic of teachers prior to their entry into the open schools.

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[6] The correlation coefficients for this index are presented in Table A17, Appendix A.

[7] This item was included because of our observation that teachers coming to graduate school with this rationalization are actually motivated by a drive for upward mobility within the occupation.

TABLE 3

Percentage Distribution of Trichotomized Scores[a]
of the Index of Vertical Ambition
in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools:
For Women Only

Vertical Ambition	Open Schools	Self-Contained Classrooms
High	28%	33%
Medium	29%	37%
Low	33%	29%
Total	100% (N = 94)	100% (N = 99)

[a] If not indicated differently, the indices for the tables in this chapter were trichotomized with approximately one-third of all the teachers falling into the "High," Medium," and "Low" categories.

How do these ambitious women fare in the schools surveyed? Table 4 indicates unequivocally that the more ambitious a woman declares herself to be, the more dissatisfied she is with her job. And that holds true in both kinds of school organizations.

TABLE 4

Vertical Ambition and Job Satisfaction
in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools:
For Women Only

Vertical Ambition Score	Percentage High on Job Satisfaction			
	Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
	N	%	N	%
High	26	31	33	21
Medium	37	49	37	30
Low	31	61	29	35

In the open schools, where teachers operate on a generally higher level of job satisfaction, the percentages of each score group showing a high degree of job satisfaction are consistently larger than in the self-contained classrooms. What is even more interesting is the sharpness of the difference in probability of being satisfied between ambitious and unambitious women in the open schools. Sixty-one percent of the low scorers in the open schools are satisfied with their jobs, while only 31% of those who are more ambitious are satisfied. The ambitious women in the open schools are not much more satisfied than their counterparts in the self-contained classrooms.

This finding is interpreted as a function of the failure of open schools to provide any more opportunities for formal promotion than self-contained classrooms. And we do speak of this as a "failure," because it cannot be a desirable state of affairs when women with strongly expressed career orientations are so likely to be dissatisfied with their teaching jobs. Whether or not the job dissatisfaction expressed here turns into actual "dropout" from the occupation is unknown, but the concerns expressed by Bush in the beginning of this chapter appear to have some foundation.

Can this strong negative relationship between vertical ambition and job satisfaction be modified by any of the changes in the status of teachers found in the open schools? By looking at teachers in the open school who perceive that teachers are influential, the possibility that the feeling of teacher efficacy and power is a mollifying factor for the vertically ambitious woman can be examined. This cross-tabulation is reported in Table 5. After dividing teachers on the basis of their perceptions of teacher influence in their respective schools, the incidence of high morale among more and less ambitious teachers in the two school settings is examined. The table shows that only in the open schools are vertically ambitious teachers more satisfied if they perceive that teachers are influential in their schools. The table also shows that vertical ambition continues to relate negatively to job satisfaction in all four comparisons.

Table 5 does seem to indicate that among teachers who perceive strong teacher influence in the open school, job satisfaction jumps to 60%, although the less ambitious teachers who perceive such teacher power are even more satisfied. In the self-contained classrooms, the perception of teacher power only raises the probability of job satisfaction 4% for vertically ambitious teachers; it continues to show a very favorable effect on the morale of unambitious teachers in the traditional setting (an improvement of 19%).

In absolute terms, the morale of ambitious women in open schools appears to be markedly improved if they perceive that teachers in general are influential in their school. If these ambitious teachers do not feel that teachers are influential in their open school, they are no more satisfied than if they were in a traditional school. Perceived influence and vertical ambition both predict job satisfaction with open-school ambitious teachers who do not perceive teachers having influence falling to an especially low level of job satisfaction. When this combination occurs, the sharp difference between job satisfaction in the two settings disappears.

TABLE 5

Vertical Ambition and Job Satisfaction
Among Women Teachers in Two School Settings:
Holding Constant Perception of Teacher Influence

Perception[a] of Teacher Influence	Vertical[a] Ambition	Percentage High on Job Satisfaction[a]			
		Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
		N	%	N	%
High	High	37	60	30	33
	Low	34	79	21	62
Low	High	21	29	41	29
	Low	18	67	28	43

[a] All three indices were dichotomized in order to preserve the number of cases falling into the different categories.

Ambition and Feelings Toward Children

Many women teachers openly declare themselves "ambitious." This may be quite unsettling to stereotypes of female elementary teachers as deriving their major satisfactions from the children themselves. Some may argue that women who are ambitious to get ahead cannot have the proper warm, loving attitude toward children. In this view, the nature of the reward structure in teaching with gratification stemming from the children is turned into a virtue by which only women who are satisfied with these rewards are *defined* as suitable for teaching because they are the only ones who care in a deep way about children.

The survey did include questions on the orientations of teachers to children. Especially relevant to this question are the indices on maternal and child development orientations. These indices of orientation toward children are described in detail in the following chapter, but it is enough to say here that women with a high score on our Maternal Orientation Index feel so warmly toward children that they report they often "would like to take one home with them." Women with a high score on the Child Development Orientation Index are more interested in watching the progress in the growth of each child and in consciously building a good relationship with that child than they are interested in seeing how much of the required curriculum he has absorbed. The Child Development Orientation Index reflects a professional philosophy of the child-centered elementary school approach, very much favored in schools of education in the recent period.

In Tables 6 and 7, the relationship between scores on the Professional Ambition Index and the probability of having a high score on the orientation measure is displayed. Results of the analysis indicate that more ambitious women are more likely to have high scores on the indices of maternal and child orientation than less ambitious women. This finding offers some support for the general belief that one has to really like children to want to stay in teaching and make it a life-long career.

TABLE 6

Probability of Having High Scores in Child and Maternal Orientations for High and Low Scorers on Professional Ambition: Women Only

Professional Ambition	Percentage High Score		(N)
	Child	Maternal	
High	49%	41%	49
Medium	25%	38%	77
Low	22%	30%	67

TABLE 7

Probability of Having High Scores in Child and Maternal Orientations for High and Low Scorers on Vertical Ambition: Women Only

Vertical Ambition	Percentage High Score		(N)
	Child	Maternal	
High	44%	42%	59
Medium	28%	35%	74
Low	18%	30%	60

Summary and Speculation

The findings reported in this chapter have strong implications for the status of the female elementary school teacher. They suggest that the low status of elementary school teaching and the high dropout figures result not only from the generally low standing of the occupation in social prestige but from at least three features of the structure of the occupation: (a) the lack of power and influence of the teaching position within the organization of the school, (b) the lack of rewards for competence, and (c) the lack of promotion opportunities in the profession.

Teacher Influence

The open-school sample provided the chance to examine the relationship between teacher morale and an increased perception of teacher power and efficacy. Under the conditions of the changed organization of work in the open schools, there is a marked rise in the perception of teachers as influential and in the tendency to see oneself as autonomous. And those teachers who respond to the new setting with perceptions of influence and autonomy have high scores on job satisfaction. They are more satisfied than both (a) open school teachers who do not feel powerful, and (b) all teachers in the self-contained classroom. In other words, if teachers are made to feel more powerful by changes in the organization of work, they will have higher morale. We assume that this means they will be less likely to drop out of the occupation.

Rewards for Competence

The second feature of elementary school teaching, lack of differential reward for competence, was studied in the responses of teachers who felt sufficiently competent for demonstration teaching and for supervision. There is a surprising increase in the percentage of professionally ambitious women in open schools as compared to the traditional schools. Moreover, in the open schools, professional ambition was positively associated with job satisfaction, while in the self-contained classrooms, the more ambitious a woman was, the more dissatisfied she was likely to be.

The increased occurrence of professional ambition and its associated improvement in teacher morale could not have occurred because of a formal change in the rewards offered for professional competence, because there were no special formal differential rewards in the open schools. We interpreted these differences as a growth of ambition and job satisfaction in response to certain rewards in the group interaction setting offered by the teaching team.

Teachers on teams have the opportunity to exchange and demonstrate technical knowledge and skills. Undoubtedly some teachers are perceived to be more competent by their fellow teachers than others. They are rewarded for this special competence by being listened to, by being favorably evaluated, and by becoming an influential member of the team. We speculate that this informal reward system results in the growth of professional ambition which is, in turn, expressed as greater job satisfaction by these newly ambitious women.

Lack of Promotion Opportunities

A final feature of elementary school teaching is the lack of opportunities for promotion into administration for women. Open schools were not marked by an increase in such opportunities. Women who were oriented toward promotion were markedly more dissatisfied than unambitious women in both settings. The inference can be made that the lack of opportunity for upward mobility is very frustrating to these ambitious teachers and may well drive them out of the profession. There was some evidence that if the vertically ambitious teacher experiences a sense of teacher influence and autonomy in the open school, her morale is somewhat better than in any of the other conditions we examined. What is really needed is the study of a school organization truly offering promotion opportunities to women teachers. Under these conditions the hypothesis that the morale of ambitious teachers will improve with the provision of realistic opportunities might be tested directly. Study of some of the newly created "differentiated staffing" arrangements may well provide an ideal setting for the answering of this question.

From a practical point of view, these findings suggest that if the status of teachers is raised by means of increasing their influence within the organization of the school, by providing differential reward through structural encouragement of colleague relationships, and by increasing opportunity for upward mobility into administration for women, there will be an increase in job satisfaction among women teachers. Increased morale is of special concern because of the marked dissatisfaction among the more committed and ambitious teachers in the study. The relatively powerless status of the elementary school teacher, the lack of differential reward for competence, and the lack of upward mobility for women may well produce a situation where the teaching occupation tends to lose those very members it needs the most.

Chapter 6

TEACHER ORIENTATIONS

Teachers have been discussed at length, but the actual process of teaching has barely been touched. Is it possible that such a radical change in work structure for teaching leaves the relationship between teacher and child virtually unaffected? This first questionnaire survey could only deal directly with the teaching process because there was no systematic observation of teachers and children.

Within its limits, the questionnaire did try to describe the ways teachers preferred to relate to children. The items referred to actual feelings and behaviors of the teacher and avoided evoking normative responses about how teachers ought to relate to children.

Predictions

Reduced Intimacy of the Open School

A major source of satisfaction for teachers lies in their relationship to students. Especially in the traditional elementary school, a teacher comes to know a pupil very intimately over the long school year in a class of around 25 students. Chances for interaction with an individual student would seem to be much reduced in an open school as children are moved about between the teachers in a team. Also, teaching in full view of others might be an inhibiting factor for those whose style with children is intuitive and spontaneous. Even for the less intuitive teacher who concentrates on an intense relationship with each child to assist intellectual and socio-emotional development, the coordination of activities and curriculum with other teachers in planning for such large numbers of children must be quite frustrating.

Critics of the open school point to the loss of this intimate teacher-child relationship, the distinguishing feature of the elementary as compared to the secondary school. From the standpoint of these critics, one would expect that teachers who do receive strong gratification from close relationships with students would be rather dissatisfied working on teams in open schools. The specific prediction was that teachers who were strongly oriented to gratification from close relationships with students would be less satisfied with their jobs in open schools than teachers with other kinds of orientations.

Pretest interviews and analysis resulted in the differentiation of two types of teacher orientation both involving the primacy of the relationship to the child. One of these is a "Diffuse Maternal Orientation," defined as the teacher who receives almost all of her gratifications from being with children. She is deeply attached to her students and treats them very much as she would her own children.

The "Child Development Orientation" is a second type of attitude also characteristic of teachers who are mainly concerned with the teacher-child relationship. This is distinguished from Maternal Orientation by having a more professional and cognitive content. These teachers are concerned with emotional and developmental differences between children and consciously try to individualize the way they relate to each child. They are also aware of the importance of reinforcement in making each child feel like an important individual. Content of this attitude dimension is related to the philosophy of child development, quite common in teacher training. There is nothing contradictory about a teacher having high scores on both these dimensions. As a matter of fact, they are very likely to be strongly positively correlated.

In review, positive relationships between Child Development Orientation and job satisfaction, and between Maternal Orientation and job satisfaction were predicted in traditional schools only. In the open schools, negative relationships were predicted for each of these two orientations with job satisfaction. Knowing how important the affection and esteem of children are to some elementary school teachers, it was doubtful that such teachers would adjust well to the open school situation where there was increased emphasis on planning activities with other teachers, where there was a decrease in opportunity for spontaneous behavior and activities, and where the number of children in contact with a given teacher was so much larger.

Increased Rationalization and Objectification

When teachers meet together on a regular basis to plan their activities, it would seem that an increased tendency to rationalize decisions on an educational basis would be the natural outcome. There is so much more opportunity for planning curricula or for coming to consensus on the choice of a prepared curricular approach. Together, the teachers might be more venturesome than alone. A sharp increase in interest in curriculum itself was predicted in the team setting; also predicted was that teachers who were oriented to the teaching process through a curricular approach would be more satisfied in the open school setting than teachers who did not have such an orientation. The reverse relationship would hold in the traditional school.

An additional prediction concerned increased emphasis on grouping children in flexible arrangements; learning problems would have to be specified more accurately than is typical of traditional classrooms. The team would have to decide whether each child was making satisfactory progress in his particular group. This would lead to more stress on what is now called "accountability" with the team making frequent evaluations of how much the child was actually learning of what the group considered essential skills. Again, the prediction was that teachers who were oriented to evaluation of how much the child had learned would be more satisfied in the open school--where such emphasis was common and where they would not stand alone in being held responsible for content learned--than teachers who did not have this orientation.

Assuming this is an accurate description of the content of team meetings, teachers might develop strong orientations to curriculum and to evaluating their success by the amount the child learned. These orientations were called "Curriculum" and "Product"; they would be found with greater frequency in the open schools. Also, teachers who had high scores on these two indices should be more satisfied with their jobs in the open schools than teachers who had low scores.

Routine Orientation

During the pretest phase, as wide a variety of teachers as possible were interviewed. There were some teachers who could only be described as "putting in their time" as classroom workers. They saw teaching as a job much like any job, and were not oriented to either the curriculum, evaluation of the amount learned, or the teacher-child relationship. Rather they spoke of the routine bureaucratic features of teaching, which actually do take up a large fraction of the teacher's working day. They took orders, or tried to take orders, by following standard procedures whenever they were available. It was hard to imagine that such people would be content in open schools where so little appeared to be standardized and where so many issues were up for discussion by the team. Even the extra hours of team meeting would seem especially burdensome to teachers with this orientation. Also team interaction might be perceived as threatening.

This dimension was labled "Routine Orientation"; the prediction was that Routine Orientation would vary positively with job satisfaction in traditional schools and negatively in open schools.

Orientation Measurement

Pretest Interviews

The initial wording of items was taken from pretest interviews of as wide a variety of teachers as possible. At the beginning, however, not many clear ideas of the content of the orientations could be found in these; and the pretest interviews caused us to analyze and reanalyze these initial notions. So the five orientations grew gradually out of interviews and analysis by the investigators.

As the items were written, they were again tried on teachers in combination with interviewing. The teachers were encouraged to criticize and clarify the formulation of the items.

Group Pretest

A group administration of the rewritten items served as the second pretest. Items which showed poor distributions were eliminated.

Items were selected for each dimension which showed a strong intercorrelation. Items which had a low correlation with the cluster were omitted. Nineteen of the original 42 items were left in the questionnaire.

The makeup of the five orientation dimensions is as follows:[1]

Maternal Orientation

2. I hate to see the children leave at the end of the year.

5. I discourage children from confiding in me as a parent. (Negative Item)

9. In my professional role, I try to avoid getting emotionally involved with the students. (Negative Item)

16. I try not to let the children tell me too many personal things about themselves. (Negative Item)

21. I treat children in my class much as I would treat my own children.

Being "high" on Maternal Orientation means that the teacher looks at children very much the same way as she would if they were her own.

Child Orientation

8. I don't like to spend too much time analyzing children. (Negative Item)

9. In my professional role I try to avoid getting emotionally involved with the students. (Negative Item)

13. I make it my business to find something I can praise highly in each child, even if I have to look outside of school.

19. My experience has taught me that children are really basically alike. (Negative Item)

33. Depending on what each child is like, I try to build a different kind of relationship with each one.

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[1] Items refer to questionnaire in Appendix B.

Being "high" on Child Orientation means that the teacher treats every child as an individual. The child is being considered as a personality at each stage of its development.

Product Orientation

7. I am constantly concerned that my class is coming along as rapidly as it should be.

10. I work very hard to get the children to keep up with the material.

17. I don't feel responsible for making sure my pupils cover every bit of the curriculum. (Negative Item)

27. I think I could successfully teach without textbooks. (Negative Item)

31. The main way I can figure out how well I'm doing with my class each year is to compare the ability scores of the pupils with their achievement test scores.

Being "high" on Product Orientation means that the teacher is very much concerned with the test scores her class obtains and also whether or not she is covering all of the material.

Curriculum Orientation

17. I don't feel responsible for making sure my pupils cover every bit of the curriculum. (Negative Item)

23. I think I could successfully teach without any testing or grading system. (Negative Item)

27. I think I could successfully teach without textbooks. (Negative Item)

30. A standardized curriculum and schedule interferes with my ability to really reach my pupils. (Negative Item)

Being "high" on Curriculum Orientation means that the teacher follows the standardized curriculum and depends on the textbooks and grading system.

Routine Orientation

3. I feel pretty satisfied with my work as long as the principal is happy with me.

12. I find the routine duties that accompany teaching rather relaxing.

24. One important advantage of being a teacher is that it fits in very well with family life.

A "high" score on Routine Orientation indicates someone to whom routine is important, who approaches teaching in a ritualistic way, in an effort to minimize involvement; a "low" score indicates someone to whom routine is annoying.

The content of the items selected for the orientation appeared to match with concepts of the dimensions with one exception. The items clustering together for the Curriculum Orientation emphasized the use of standardized curricula vs. the use of no fixed curricula rather than capturing the possibility of creating one's own curriculum in a relatively formal fashion.

This questionnaire was administered to teachers in both open schools and schools with self-contained classrooms. The answers were combined into an index for each orientation. The top third of all respondents (i.e., for the two school types combined) for each orientation was arbitrarily designated as "high," the next third "medium," and the remainder "low."[2]

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[2] The intercorrelation of the five orientations appears in Appendix A, Tables A18, A19, A20, A21 and A22.

Results

Teacher-Child Relationship and Job Satisfaction

Indices of the strength of orientation to teacher-child relationships both turned out to be predictive of job satisfaction. Teachers who are "high" on Maternal Orientation and Child Development Orientation are much more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than teachers who are "low" on these indices. But predictions of a different relationship between orientation and job satisfaction in the two settings was not borne out. Teachers strongly oriented to the teacher-child relationship are more likely to be satisfied in either type of school. This finding is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Relationship of Maternal and Child Development Orientations to Job Satisfaction in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

Orientation	% High on Job Satisfaction[a]			
	Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
	%	N	%	N
Maternal:				
High	55%	36	31%	39
Medium	49%	43	35%	46
Low	26%	27	17%	35
Child Development:				
High	50%	38	44%	25
Medium	50%	38	25%	61
Low	35%	34	24%	34

[a] The indices for the tables in this chapter were trichotomized.

As in all analyses of job satisfaction, teachers in open schools are more satisfied than teachers in self-contained classrooms in every comparison. But even within a given work setting, there really is no difference in the way this orientation relates to job satisfaction in the two types of schools.

The probability of having a high score on Maternal Orientation is about the same in the two settings (36% in open schools; 33% in self-contained classrooms). The difference in the proportions having a high score on Child Development Orientation in the two settings, is, if anything, in the opposite direction from what one would expect based on our ideas of a decreased stress on the teacher-child relationship in the open schools. Thirty-five percent of the teachers in the open schools have a high score on the Child Development Orientation, while only 21% of the teachers in the self-contained classrooms have a high score.

Cognitive Orientations and Job Satisfaction

Contrary to predictions, there is a higher probability of having a high score on Product and Curriculum Orientations in the self-contained classroom than in the open-space schools. Table 2 shows the differences in distribution of scores on these two indices of attitude in the two settings.

The open-space school setting does not appear to produce a stronger orientation toward curricula of the prescribed variety, nor is it associated with a stronger orientation toward testing the amount learned. Possibly the lack of any other means of evaluating one's work in the self-contained classroom leads to this stress on testing and the reassurance provided by structured curricula. In open-space schools, teachers may rely on the group as evaluators of the success of teaching. In any case, it will become important to take a closer look at the topics teachers discuss during team meetings when they deal with curriculum and evaluation problems.

TABLE 2

Proportions Falling into Three Score Categories
of Curriculum and Product Orientation in
Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

Orientation		Open Schools N = 110	Self-Contained Classrooms N = 120
Curriculum:	High	24%	37%
	Medium	44%	36%
	Low	32%	27%
Product:	High	16%	40%
	Medium	49%	39%
	Low	35%	21%

Also quite wrong was the prediction of a positive relationship between Curriculum and Product Orientations with job satisfaction in open schools. As a matter of fact, there are weak negative relationships between these orientations and job satisfaction in both settings. Table 3 clearly illustrates this finding.

TABLE 3

Relationship of Curriculum and Product Orientation to
Job Satisfaction in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

Orientation		% High on Job Satisfaction			
		Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
		%	N	%	N
Curriculum:	High	48%	27	32%	44
	Medium	38%	48	19%	43
	Low	54%	35	36%	33
Product:	High	33%	18	25%	48
	Medium	50%	54	28%	47
	Low	45%	38	36%	25

Routine Orientation and Job Satisfaction

Scores on Routine Orientation did relate positively to job satisfaction in the traditional school as predicted. Teachers who are less involved with teaching and who are more like routine bureaucratic employees are more satisfied than others who do not feel this way in the traditional schools. This finding may be seen in Table 4. Possibly, carrying out routine bureaucratic tasks as the only performance receiving evaluation in the administration-oriented traditional school will be more productive of job satisfaction in that setting.

TABLE 4

Relationship of Routine Orientation Score and Job Satisfaction in Open and Self-Contained Classroom Schools

Routine Orientation	% High on Job Satisfaction			
	Open Schools		Self-Contained Classrooms	
	%	N	%	N
High	50%	36	44%	32
Medium	44%	43	24%	54
Low	42%	31	21%	34

There was very little difference in the distributions of scores on this orientation between the two settings. Thirty-three percent of the teachers in the open schools had a high score and 27% of the teachers in the self-contained classrooms were in the same score category. There appears to be no shortage of "routine bureaucratic" employees in either setting.

Weakness in Reasoning

Why didn't the sharp differences between the two settings affect these indices dealing with a teacher's orientation toward children and the relationship of these attitudes to job satisfaction? The difficulty in interpreting these results arises because there are too many post hoc reasons; and they are all speculative. Perhaps the wisest course for the present is to choose the simplest explanations.

The relationship between Maternal and Child Development Orientations and job satisfaction was a very strong one; teachers strongly attuned to children are simply going to be much happier in the job of teaching. The problem with our predictions should not obscure the possible future utility of these two orientations as personal characteristics predictive of job satisfaction in teaching. The strength of this relationship overwhelms any possible contextual effects of the kind of school one works in. The change in organization of work in the open-space schools does not seem to affect the tendency for this type of teacher to have more job satisfaction. It is not clear from this finding whether or not the relationship between teacher and child is in any way altered in the open school. It could be that our orientation indices are not sensitive to the change that has occurred; or it could be that the teacher-child relationship as a major source of gratification for some teachers simply has not changed in any major way in the two settings.

Why weren't there more teachers with strong Curriculum and Product Orientations in the open schools, as expected? Apparently we were victims of a tenuous chain of reasoning. We had assumed that the open-school arrangement would necessitate more objective evaluation of the team members by the principal, and more evaluation of the children by the teachers as they planned flexible groups for instruction. Furthermore, in the questions on evaluation in the formal sense, no differences in the amount of formal evaluation appeared in the new setting. Without an increased emphasis on evaluation and accountability, the basis for assuming that the content of teacher meetings would show more emphasis on rational cognition concerning things like curriculum and test results collapses.

In the teacher meetings observed, there was surprisingly little content that might be called "professional-technical." There was much discussion over time and space and noise problems, and some discussion of the choice of various prepared curriculum alternatives and resource people routinely offered by the school.

When these particular predictions were made, we were evidently too far beyond a sound knowledge of what meetings of team teachers were like. We have since set about remedying this deficiency.

Unless we find more evidence that indices like the ones we have constructed are sensitive to organizational variables and on-the-job interaction, these orientations do not appear to be particularly promising avenues for future research. When we reach the stage of examining teacher-child interaction patterns for teachers in differing organizations of work, we might try once more to see if orientation toward children helps us understand which modes of organization are preferable for which teachers. Even more basic, we will have to examine whether or not there is any relationship between these verbal measures and the observable behavior of teachers with children. Quite possibly other features of the teaching environment besides the orientation of the teacher may control and produce the actual behavior of the teacher toward the child.

Chapter 7

CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURE OF TEACHING: SUMMARY

To grasp the importance and dramatic quality of the alteration of social structure found in some of the open schools, one has to return to a description of the most traditional of structures, the elementary school in a large city school system. Miriam Wasserman describes the status structure of New York City's elementary schools:

> Throughout the school system, the interpersonal relations are such that each individual, beginning with the actual children, is a child to the person above him and a despot to the people below him... The infantilization of the teacher, which began years earlier when she surrendered her childhood self in the interests of learning to be a pupil, is reinforced at every phase and in every aspect of her training and professionalization until she surrenders her adult self in the interests of being a teacher... Upon the school system as a whole, the effect of primacy of bureaucratic place as a determinant of status is to elevate administrators (clerks) over educators as persons of consequence and power, and administration over all other pursuits, including education, as the system's primary concern.
>
> The reduction of teachers to the status of children in this way aggravates considerably the sibling-like rivalries, backbiting, tattling, and complaining that characterize the relationships of many groups of peer-workers under a common authority, ... teachers almost never receive and would certainly never request serious educational guidance from their supervisors....
>
> In the hierarchy of the individual school, the principal, at the top, is responsible to the higher administrative personnel above him and responsible for the running of the school. Lines of authority pass from him through his subordinates down to the teacher. While the teacher is responsible for the child and the class, and for most of the actual process of education, she is responsible to a supervisor whose major concern is with administration (clerical tasks). A natural concomitant of this authority arrangement is that the entire adult school population tends to be preoccupied with administration.
>
> Staff meetings customarily concern administrative or clerical matters.... Those principals who do occasionally take up substantive educational matters are likely simply to lecture, and there is little of that free exchange of opinions and ideas necessary

> to professional growth. The level of professionalism of school personnel is revealed by the reading matter commonly found in teachers' lounges--usually women's magazines and perhaps an occasional copy of Look or Life.
>
> Teachers gain status and the attention that leads to promotion--precisely through administrative-type non-teaching activities.[1]

The traditional elementary schools in our sample do not fit the picture drawn so grimly above because they are middle class, suburban, and less rigidly run. But it is against the background of this widespread pattern that the fundamental nature of the change in the structure of teaching as an occupation can be observed in open schools. Probably most important is the finding that the very substance of education is no longer (a) the province of the isolated teacher, and (b) given consistent low priority in comparison to administrative matters. Although this is not the case with the reports of every teacher in every open school, a dramatic increase occurs in reported interaction in substantive educational matters between teachers. The interaction between teachers is given a formal status--the team meetings--in these open schools; teachers in these schools report more interaction in informal meetings as well. The possibility of professional growth is for the first time opened up; teachers in the open-school sample are much more likely to report informal feedback and/or advice by colleagues than teachers in self-contained classrooms. Equally interesting is the growth of a distinctive normative climate in which teachers are more likely to report that colleague evaluation is legitimate than teachers in self-contained classrooms. A study of these norms suggests that formal colleague evaluation would be much more acceptable in the open school.

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[1] Miriam Wasserman, The School Fix, NYC, USA. New York: Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1970. Pp. 29-38.

Parallel to this growth in collegial interaction is an equally basic change in the influence processes within the school. The teachers in the open-school sample cannot possibly be described as "infantilized" and dependent. They are more likely to report control over their own decisions than teachers in self-contained classrooms, and are less likely to report that the principal has influence over educational decisions. Parallel to this development of new patterns of influence is the growth of a sense of teacher power and control over policy matters within the school. Both individual teacher and teacher-group influence on school policies are greatly strengthened in the new setting, while the principal's relative influence is lessened. What seems to have happened is that additional sources of authority to that of the principal have been opened up in the structure of the school.

Another hopeful sign of change is the increase in teacher satisfaction in the open schools, an increase we observed in almost every comparison made between the two settings, regardless of how breakdowns on other variables were made. And quite significant also is the rise in incidence of professional ambitious attitudes in the open-school setting. More women teachers were interested in attaining prestige and respect qua teachers, rather than via the vertical promotion ladder which takes them out of the classroom. Teachers in the open-school setting who were professionally ambitious were more satisfied with their jobs than those who were not ambitious. Women teachers who were more interested in administrative careers and professionally ambitious women teachers in traditional schools were quite dissatisfied with teaching.

Critical Features of the Open School

We are not social historians documenting the changes found in schools with a new type of architecture. We want to learn in a more general and abstract way what are the conditions under which these changes in authority structure take place. An analysis of the data shows something about the nature of the interrelationship of changes in interaction patterns to changes in reported autonomy and influence patterns. We have also tried to uncover the sources of the increased job satisfaction seen in the open schools.

Open schools do not, in and of themselves, automatically produce all these desirable changes. Some teachers in open schools report a relatively low level of interaction between teachers and a low level of reported influence and autonomy. Some teachers in self-contained classrooms report a relatively high level of interaction and a relatively high level of influence. This is vital to the argument because this survey's results are not to be taken as an uncritical approval and recommendation of open-space facilities. Rather we are pointing to the critical organizational changes capable of producing some of the effects seen in these data.

Pulling together the results of the multivariate data analysis and the interpretaions we have made of the results, we can present a picture of fundamental conditions and processes. The first basic condition for what was observed in the open schools is the delegation of decision-making powers to the team of teachers. Of course, this delegation could take place, and does, within traditional architecture as well as within open schools. Also, some open schools do not really have teams with effective formal power.

The powers delegated to the team are decisions traditionally made by the teacher in isolation and some decisions formerly made by the principal.

The second basic condition is the opportunity for formal and informal interaction between the teachers. Obviously, the team structure increases interaction opportunities. The visibility of teachers to each other in the open school must also increase opportunities for interaction. Team structure cannot be separated from visibility in this study.

Teacher interaction appears to be a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the increase in reported teacher influence and autonomy. Interaction, as viewed here, offers the opportunity for teachers to become influential and to be evaluated and respected by colleagues. These interpersonal influence processes appear to give rise in some cases to a personal sense of power and autonomy and to a general sense of teacher efficacy over school-wide decisions. This increased teacher efficacy is a factor associated with increased job satisfaction.

There are two very important qualifications to be added here. 1) Not all increases in reported interaction are accompanied by increased sense of efficacy and job satisfaction. The relationship is by no means automatic, as can be seen by the failure of the teachers' reported amount of interaction to predict job satisfaction. Interaction on teams can also be associated with dissatisfaction: there are obviously group morale problems in some of these teams. Also, low-influence members of teams may feel that teachers are not very powerful and may perceive a lack of autonomy. This was true of inexperienced teachers on open-school teams. 2) The other important qualification is that some of the group influence effect of open schools is not accounted for by the variation in actual opportunities for teacher interaction. Some of the increased sense of teacher influence probably comes from the formal delegation of powers to the teacher groups, aside from the actual processes of group interaction taking place within the team. In other words, the formal authority structure has changed so that teachers seem to have acquired legitimate influence on more decisions. This is a direct source of a sense of teacher efficacy. In addition, the opportunities for small-group, task-related interaction make possible the growth of a sense of personal influence and autonomy which can generalize to a sense of teacher-group power.

The increased interaction among teachers on educational matters not only allows teachers to influence each other but also allows them to reward each other for teaching skills. In this potential for favorable evaluation and reward, there is a source of increased professional ambition found among teachers in open schools. These schools give them a chance to demonstrate techniques and ideas to other teachers. Certainly, the open architecture enhances the possibility of a teacher demonstrating teaching processes to other members of the team. We must not present an over optimistic picture of the calibre of the intellectual exchange between members of the teaching team. Much of the talk, in our field observation, is on a rather concrete and layman-like level. But the growth in professional ambition and job satisfaction among some teachers suggests that potential for both personal and group development lies within these teams.

The concept of autonomy underwent considerable change during the course of a rather intricate data analysis. Originally, as is true in the literature on teaching, we saw the traditional elementary school teacher as largely autonomous because of the lack of formal evaluation by the principal, and because the direction of the teacher was so largely concerned with administrative matters. A sense of autonomy was measured by the teacher's reported sense of control over her own educational decision making. The pattern of relationships emerging from the data suggested the need for redefining the "autonomy" found in the self-contained classroom. The question utilized appears to have captured autonomy in the sense of delegation of power to control decisions only in the open-school setting; only in this setting did it have a strong relationship to job satisfaction and to years of experience. In the open schools, a sense of autonomy is more common, even though teachers have to share decision making with other teachers and admit to influencing each other in particular task areas. The sense of autonomy appears to grow out of the increased overall authority of the teacher group. Autonomy is an important source of satisfaction in the open school setting; it is also a problem requiring solution for some open-school teachers. Those who do not feel they have control over their own decisions, such as inexperienced teachers, appear to suffer from job dissatisfaction.

In the self-contained classrooms, the indicator of autonomy appears to measure teacher isolation instead. More "autonomous" teachers are not more satisfied. "Autonomy" is not clearly related to experience. It seems that a worker who is simply left on his own to make decisions, without formal delegation of power to make those decisions, does not necessarily feel autonomous; he may simply feel neglected.

Two major organizational features appear not to have been altered in the schools studied. One is the formal evaluation system. Although the potential for formal colleague evaluation is there, the open schools did not take advantage of that change. Principals evaluated teachers as infrequently in the open schools as they did in the traditional schools. Another unchanged feature is the limited opportunity for ambitious women to be promoted to supervisory and administrative posts. The teams studied did not have differential pay and regarded themselves as a society of equals (with the possible exception of the novice teachers). Thus there were no more opportunities for the "vertically ambitious" teacher in this structure than there are in the traditional structure.

The lack of opportunity for promotion in both types of schools probably underlies the job dissatisfaction found among vertically ambitious women. A cross-sectional survey cannot reveal whether the dissatisfied teacher becomes the teacher dropout with time.

Some Unanswered Questions

In all analyses of job satisfaction, the increase in teacher morale in open schools was never fully accounted for. It is entirely possible that the newness and publicity given to these schools produces a "Hawthorne effect" and that some of this job satisfaction may disappear as open schools with team teaching become standard. Some factors partially accounted for variation in job satisfaction. In order to know their practical importance, a sample of dissatisfied teachers would have to be followed for several years to see whether they left the profession.

It was predicted that women with particular orientations toward children would be dissatisfied in the impersonality of the open-school setting. But teachers with a Maternal Orientation or a Child Development Orientation were more satisfied with teaching in both settings. Also the open-school setting would supposedly produce a strong, cognitive and evaluative atmosphere in which both testing and curriculum would be stressed. Teachers with these orientations would be more satisfied in open-space schools than teachers who did not have these orientations. Here, again we were wrong. A high score on Product and Curriculum Orientations was more characteristic of traditional schools, and these orientations were in no case predictive of job satisfaction.

Obviously, we have not yet found an adequate way to study or even to conceptualize just how the organization of teachers comes to affect the actual teaching process. In future studies, systematic classroom observations are planned, as well as detailed study of the content of the educational decisions made by the teacher groups.

Summing up the needs for future studies, there are two major directions we will want to move in. One of these is a study over time to see what happens to the staffs of these open schools. Does the job satisfaction begin to fade away? Does job dissatisfaction eventuate in teacher dropout? Does the increased sense of teacher power eventuate in greater demands for status and decision-making power by teachers?

The other direction is an extension of thinking to the problem of the conditions for growth of a professional technical culture among teachers. It is not an automatic outcome of teacher teams. Would it be accelerated by the use of differentiated staffing? Is it necessary for the team to solve its internal problems before professional growth can occur? Also needed is extension of this thinking to teacher-student interactions. How does the architecture and the mode of decision making alter, if at all, the way that teachers relate to children?

Progressing Beyond Willard Waller

Sociologists of education often look back on Waller's classic on the school, Sociology of Teaching, (Waller, 1932),[2] commenting that his shrewd, empirical generalization about the authority structure of the school turned out, upon systematic survey work, to be uncannily accurate. They wonder if, after all, the field has made any real progress beyond these brilliant observations on the nature of the relationship between principal, teacher and students. As long as surveys remain on the descriptive level, we cannot say to educators, "If you want to organize your school so as to accomplish any of these goals: maximum teacher morale; maximum individual professional growth on the part of your teaching staff; in an increased rate of student-initiated learning, you must alter these basic conditions." In order to reach this level of generality and practicality, it becomes necessary to abstract some underlying propositions from our study of the two types of schools as instances of two varieties of authority structure.

As a result of this survey, some general propositions that might apply to schools and other types of organizations can be formulated. These propositions are not to be regarded as verified, but they are testable; they have been formulated out of the lengthy struggle with the empirical relationships between our major concepts of interaction, influence, autonomy and job satisfaction.

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[2] John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1932, reprinted Russell & Russell, New York, 1961.

Central to this conceptualization of task-related interaction within organizations are the notions of power as defined by persuasion and influence on others, and favorable evaluation by colleagues. If a teacher persuades a whole team to handle the social studies unit in a particular way, she is controlling the professional behavior of colleagues. Indirectly, teachers come to control a much larger group of students than is true in a conventional classroom. The status of the person who is the target for influence, as well as the number of persons controlled through this influence, are both factors contributing to the sense of power. In the traditional classroom a teacher has only one group of students to control; and they are low-status targets for influence.

Similarly, the status of the evaluating person is important. In a system like the school, where formal evaluation is infrequent, the status of other teachers makes them more important than students as rewarders and favorable evaluators.

Thus, both the sense of power and the state of rewards are important conditions for high morale among teachers and, by extension, among workers in general.

The most complex propositional statements evolved deal with conditions that bring about the rise in the sense of the workers' power and efficacy: (a) When some formal decision making is delegated to a group of interdependent workers (such as the teaching team), there will be a rise in the sense of worker power; (b) further, when the ability to exercise influence and control within the small group task setting increases, the workers' sense of power and efficacy will increase. These two conditions prevail only in organizations in which little formal control and evaluation is exercised over the worker's task. This was the state of affairs in both types of schools studied; many major educational decisions are not controlled by the hierarchy.

The evolution of task-related interaction under these organizational conditions will also provide important rewards for workers with professional ambition Unless the formal opportunity structure is altered to provide true opportunities for promotion into administration, the morale of workers oriented to upward promotion will be unaffected by work-related interaction.

With the development of these general propositions, we are now ready to extend our investigations (a) to other innovations in structure, such as differentiated staffing; (b) outward from the teachers to the children; and (c) over time as the new organizational structures "settle down." We have found some concepts and propositions productive of useful statements to the educator interested in the reorganization of schools and to the sociologist interested in the effects of organizational change.

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APPENDIX A

Intercorrelations

TABLE A1

Intercorrelation between Items in the
Index of Informal Work Interaction
(Part CA, Question 1)

Item #	1b	1c	1d	1e	1f
1a	.4469[x]	.3660[x]	.4784[x]	.3442[x]	.3163[x]
1b		.5908[x]	.3841[x]	.3839[x]	.5759[x]
1c			.4601[x]	.4359[x]	.5166[x]
1d				.6716[x]	.4481[x]
1e					.5148[x]

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A2

Intercorrelation between Items in the
Index of Group Interaction
(Part CA, Question 2)

Item #	2b	2c	2d	2e	2f
2a	.6442[x]	.5436[x]	.6038[x]	.4955[x]	.5985[x]
2b		.6515[x]	.5274[x]	.5190[x]	.7491[x]
2c			.6251[x]	.5889[x]	.6670[x]
2d				.7825[x]	.7172[x]
2e					.7414[x]

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A3

Intercorrelation between Items in the
Index of Informal Principal Interaction
(Part CA, Question 3)

Item #	3b	3c	3d	3e	3f
3a	.5221^x	.6006^x	.6535^x	.5385^x	.5459^x
3b		.4716^x	.5194^x	.5200^x	.4219^x
3c			.5698^x	.4233^x	.7246^x
3d				.6551^x	.5276^x
3e					.5059^x

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A4

Intercorrelation between Items in the
Index of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues
(Part CA, Question 4)

Item #	4b	4c	4d	4e
4a	.6961^x	.6444^x	.6356^x	.7277^x
4b		.6708^x	.6381^x	.6587^x
4c			.8839^x	.7135^x
4d				.7904^x

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A5

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Informal Evaluation by Principals (Part CA, Question 5)

Item #	5b	5c	5d	5e
5a	$.6093^x$	$.5831^x$	$.5345^x$	$.7366^x$
5b		$.5754^x$	$.6611^x$	$.5970^x$
5c			$.7405^x$	$.6216^x$
5d				$.6308^x$

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A6

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Legitimization of Informal Evaluation by Colleagues (Part CA, Question 6)

Item #	6b	6c	6d	6e
6a	$.7744^x$	$.7275^x$	$.6786^x$	$.7784^x$
6b		$.7654^x$	$.7261^x$	$.7396^x$
6c			$.7885^x$	$.7380^x$
6d				$.7520^x$

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A7

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Legitimization of Informal Evaluation by Principals (Part CA, Question 7)

Item #	7b	7c	7d	7e
7a	$.7011^x$	$.5671^x$	$.4200^x$	$.7010^x$
7b		$.7016^x$	$.6150^x$	$.6704^x$
7c			$.6362^x$	$.6666^x$
7d				$.5700^x$

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A8

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Individual Autonomy (Part CA, Question 8)

Item #	8b	8c	8d	8e
8a	$.5312^x$	$.5271^x$	$.4285^x$	$.4446^x$
8b		$.6757^x$	$.5296^x$	$.5650^x$
8c			$.6269^x$	$.5990^x$
8d				$.8449^x$

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A9

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Group Influence upon the Individual (Part CA, Question 9)

Item #	9b	9c	9d	9e
9a	$.7330^x$	$.6961^x$	$.6319^x$	$.7387^x$
9b		$.7549^x$	$.6523^x$	$.6372^x$
9c			$.7516^x$	$.7020^x$
9d				$.7614^x$

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A10

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Individual Teacher Influence upon the Individual (Part CA, Question 10)

Item #	10b	10c	10d	10e
10a	$.7425^x$	$.6098^x$	$.5992^x$	$.7236^x$
10b		$.7014^x$	$.6000^x$	$.6609^x$
10c			$.8009^x$	$.6917^x$
10d				$.7709^x$

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A11

Intercorrelation between Items in the
Index of Principal Influence upon the Individual
(Part CA, Question 11)

Item #	11b	11c	11d	11e
11a	.5537^{x}	.4711^{x}	.3072^{x}	.5788^{x}
11b		.6815^{x}	.6085^{x}	.6506^{x}
11c			.6479^{x}	.5631^{x}
11d				.6411^{x}

^{x}Sig. at α = .001

TABLE A12

Intercorrelation between Items in the
Index of Individual Teacher Influence
within the School (Part CA, Question 13)

Item #	13b	13c	13d	13e
13a	.7977^{x}	.6767^{x}	.7524^{x}	.6796^{x}
13b		.6998^{x}	.7022^{x}	.7311^{x}
13c			.7499^{x}	.6849^{x}
13d				.7371^{x}

^{x}Sig. at α = .001

TABLE A13

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Teacher Group Influence within the School (Part CA, Question 14)

Item #	14b	14c	14d	14e
14a	.8199[x]	.7294[x]	.8051[x]	.6978[x]
14b		.7279[x]	.8002[x]	.7705[x]
14c			.7440[x]	.6694[x]
14d				.7433[x]

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A14

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Principal Influence within the School (Part CA, Question 15)

Item #	15b	15c	15d	15e
15a	.6072[x]	.6372[x]	.6253[x]	.5364[x]
15b		.5169[x]	.5016[x]	.7061[x]
15c			.7602[x]	.5223[x]
15d				.5510[x]

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .001$

TABLE A15

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Job Satisfaction
(Part 3-JS, Items 1, 3, 7, 8, 9)

Item #	3	7	8	9
1	.5481[x]	.1808[x]	.2159[x]	.2604[x]
3		.3803[x]	.3049[x]	.4421[x]
7			.6329[x]	.4060[x]
8				.3449[x]

[x] Sig. at α = .05 or less

TABLE A16

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Professional Ambition
(Part 1-Am, Or, Items 26, 32, 34, 35)

Item #	32	34	35
26	.4353[x]	.4373[x]	.3076[x]
32		.5220[x]	.5030[x]
34			.4380[x]

[x] Sig. at α = .05 or less

TABLE A17

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Vertical Ambition (Part 1-Am, Or, Items 4, 6, 18, 22, 29)

Item #	6	18	22	29
4	.1101[x]	.1392[x]	.0851	.2259[x]
6		.1785[x]	.1659[x]	.3059[x]
18			.2789[x]	.3844[x]
22				.2465[x]

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .05$ or less

TABLE A18

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index for Maternal Orientation (Part 1-Am, Or, Items 2, 5, 9, 16, 21)

Item #	5	9	16	21
2	.0934	.2761[x]	.0697	.1859[x]
5		.3442[x]	.5335[x]	.1306[x]
9			.3710[x]	.0783
16				.0158

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .05$ or less

TABLE A19

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index for Child Orientation (Part 1-Am, Or, Items 8, 9, 13, 19, 33)

Item #	9	13	19	33
8	.3098[x]	.2428[x]	.1812[x]	.2729[x]
9		.1480[x]	.1912[x]	.2041[x]
13			.1500[x]	.2638[x]
19				.0789

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .05$ or less

TABLE A20

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Product Orientation (Part 1-Am, Or, Items 7, 10, 17, 27, 31)

Item #	10	17	27	31
7	.3900[x]	.1256[x]	.1687[x]	.1716[x]
10		.2131[x]	.2570[x]	.1966[x]
17			.2173[x]	.0908
27				.0227

[x] Sig. at $\alpha = .05$ or less

TABLE A21

Intercorrelation between Items in the Index of Curriculum Orientation (Part 1-Am, Or, Items 17, 23, 27, 30)

Item #	23	27	30
17	.1780^x	.2173^x	.1367^x
23		.3157^x	.1993^x
27			.1880^x

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .05$ or less

TABLE A22

Intercorrelations between Items in the Index of Routine Orientation (Part 1-Am, Or, Items 3, 12, 24)

Item #	12	24
3	.1672^x	.1602^x
12		.1750^x

^{x}Sig. at $\alpha = .05$ or less

APPENDIX B

Final Questionnaire

Part FS - Background Information

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about your background and experience:

1. Name (Optional--your answers will be kept strictly anonymous. If you give us your name, it will help us for follow-up purposes.)

   ____

2. Age: ___20-25 ___26-30 ___31-35 ___36-40 ___41-50

   ___over 50

3. Sex: ___M ___F

4. Marital status: ___Married ___Single ___Divorced ___Widowed

5. Children: Number of___

6. Education: Please list all colleges and universities in which you have been enrolled in a degree program.

School	Location	Years Attended	Major	Degree

7. Place of birth:______________________________

8. Politically, do you consider yourself more a:

   ___Liberal ___Conservative ___Moderate

9. Employment: Please list the three most recent full-time positions you have held:

Employer	Location	Dates		Position

10. Number of years of teaching experience (not including the present school year):

____None ____Less than Two ____Two to Five ____Five to Ten

____More than Ten

11. Which different grades have you taught? (Check all that apply):

____Pre-school ____K-3 ____4-6 ____7-9 ____10-12

____Junior College ____College or University

12. Where were your grandparents born?

____United States ____Canada ____British Isles

____Western Europe (country):________________________________

____Eastern Europe (country):________________________________

____Latin America (country):________________________________

____Other (country):________________________________

13. Religious preference:

____Protestant ____Catholic ____Jewish ____None

____Other (please specify):________________________________

14. Name of the school you teach in at present: ____________________

14a. What grade level(s) are you mainly responsible for? ____________________

15. Are you now a member of a teaching team? ___Yes ___No

16. If yes, how many teachers including yourself are on the team? _____

17. Are you now a member of more than one teaching team? ___Yes ___No

18. What grade levels are represented on your team?

___K ___1st ___2nd ___3rd ___4th ___5th ___6th

___7th ___8th ___9th or above

19. How long have you been a member of this team?

___Just this school year. ___Two to three years.

___More than three years.

20. Aside from the present year, have you ever been a member of a teaching team?

___Yes ___No

21. If yes, for how long? ___One year. ___Two to three years.

___More than three years.

22. How many different teams have you been a member of? __________

23. What grade levels were represented on the most recent of these teams (not counting the present year)?

___K ___1st ___2nd ___3rd ___4th ___5th ___6th

___7th ___8th ___9th or above

24. How many teachers, including yourself, were members of this most recent team?

____

25. When you are teaching, how much of the time are other teachers in your room?

____Most of the day.   ____At least once a day.

____At least once a week.   ____Barely.   ____Never.

26. When you're teaching, how much of the time is the principal in your room?

____Frequently during the day.   ____At least once a day.

____At least once a week.   ____Rarely.   ____Never.

27. Of what teachers' organizations are you a member?

____NEA   ____CTA   ____Local Branch of NEA

____American Federation of Labor (AFL)

____Other (please describe):______________________________

____

Teacher Orientation Study

Part 1 (Am, Or)

The questions below are concerned with your orientation toward various aspects of teaching. Please check the answer which best describes your own orientation.

1. Learning the formal material isn't always the most important thing a child can get out of school.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

2. I hate to see the children leave at the end of the year.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

3. I feel pretty satisfied with my work as long as the principal is happy with me.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

4. In comparison with other teachers, I would say that I am a very ambitious person.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

5. I discourage children from confiding in me as a parent.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

6. I personally really wish good teachers got more recognition.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

7. I am constantly concerned that my class is coming along as rapidly as it should be.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

8. I don't like to spend too much time analyzing children.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

(Am, Or)

9. In my professional role, I try to avoid getting emotionally involved with the students.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

10. I work very hard to get the children to keep up with the material.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

11. I prefer teaching positions in which I have opportunity to take part in the running of the school.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

12. I find the routine duties that accompany teaching rather relaxing.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

13. I make it my business to find something I can praise highly in each child, even if I have to look outside of school.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

14. I try to teach the fundamentals every child should know.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

15. The opportunity to initiate and carry out new instructional ideas is especially important to me.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

16. I try not to let the children tell me too many personal things about themselves.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

17. I don't feel responsible for making sure my pupils cover every bit of the curriculum.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

(Am, Or)

18. If my school encouraged me in acquiring a supervisory certificate by financing me, I would be . . .

___Extremely Interested ___Somewhat Interested ___Uninterested

19. My experience has taught me that children are really basically alike.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

20. In comparison with other teachers, I find good pay and fringe benefits are quite important to me in thinking about a job.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

21. I treat children in my class much as I would treat my own children.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

22. I have often thought that I would like to return to school for at least a year to improve my professional abilities as a classroom teacher.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

23. I think I could successfully teach without any testing or grading system.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

24. One important advantage of being a teacher is that it fits in very well with family life.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

25. Although I work primarily with children . . .

___I enjoy working with adults even more.

___I enjoy working with adults just as much.

___I don't enjoy working with adults as much.

26. I would really like the opportunity to help new young teachers develop classroom skills.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

(Am, Or)

27. I think I could successfully teach without textbooks.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

28. Sometimes I feel as if I'd really like to take some of my pupils home with me.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

29. It is very important to me to be in a school with many opportunities for advancement for the classroom teacher.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

30. A standardized curriculum and schedule interferes with my ability to really reach my pupils.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

31. The main way I can figure out how well I'm doing with my class each year is to compare the ability scores of the pupils with their achievement test scores.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

32. I could see myself helping to lead a workshop on teaching techniques.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

33. Depending on what each child is like, I try to build a different kind of relationship with each one.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

34. I would be very interested in showing other teachers styles and techniques I've developed.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

35. I would be competent at making supervisory evaluations of the other teachers.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Teacher Orientation Study

Part 2 (AE)

Now we would like to ask you about the way your work as a teacher is evaluated, and about your responses to your evaluations.

1. (If yes) How often does the principal observe for formal evaluation purposes?

___Weekly ___Monthly ___Once or twice a year

2. Colleagues should have the right to evaluate each other's work.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

3. Formal evaluations don't give any accurate picture of a teacher.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

4. I resent the formal evaluation procedure.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

5. My principal evaluates me on the following (check all the appropriate ones):

___Orderly classroom

___Student discipline

___Clean classroom

___Following the curriculum guide

___Creativity

___Ability to handle individual children's problems

___Being on time

___Skill in presentation

___Personal relations with other teachers, parents, etc.

(AE)

6. I agree with my principal's evaluation scheme.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

7. I tend to take my principal's evaluation scheme into account when I am teaching.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

8. How much does your teaching assignment depend on the formal evaluation you received from your principal?

___Great Deal ___Some ___Not at All

9. Some teachers in this school should have much more influence than others on the way the school is run.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

10. Some teachers in this school do have much more influence than others on the way the school is run.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Teacher Orientation Study

Part 3 (CA)

The following questions are concerned with communication patterns and decision-making practices within your school. Although each question has several parts, each part should be considered separately. Please check the appropriate response category for each part of each question.

1. How often do you talk informally, aside from prearranged or formal group meetings, with other teachers about . . .

	1 at least once a day	2 at least once a week	3 at least once a month	4 less than once a month	5 never
a. the educational goals and objectives of the school	____	____	____	____	____
b. school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
c. grading students	____	____	____	____	____
d. curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
e. teaching specific lessons or classes	____	____	____	____	____
f. student discipline and control	____	____	____	____	____

2. When you meet with school committees, teams, or teacher groups (e.g., similar grade level or subject area), how often do you discuss . . .

	1 at least once a day	2 at least once a week	3 at least once a month	4 less than once a month	5 never
a. the educational goals and objectives of the school	____	____	____	____	____
b. school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
c. grading students	____	____	____	____	____
d. curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
e. teaching specific lessons	____	____	____	____	____
f. student discipline and control	____	____	____	____	____

(CA)

3. How often do you talk individually with the principal about . . .

	1 at least once a day	2 at least once a week	3 at least once a month	4 less than once a month	never
a. the educational goals and objectives of the school	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. grading students	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. school rules and regulations	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. curriculum planning	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. teaching specific lessons or classes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. student discipline and control	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

4. How often do you receive feedback and/or advice from other teachers about your own . . .

	1 at least once a day	2 at least once a week	3 at least once a month	4 less than once a month	5 never
a. administration of school rules and regulations	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. student grading practices	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. curriculum planning	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. teaching specific lessons or classes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. student control and discipline practices	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. How often do you receive feedback and/or advice from the principal about your own . . .

	1 at least once a day	2 at least once a week	3 at least once a month	4 less than once a month	5 never
a. administration of school rules and regulations	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. student grading practices	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. curriculum planning	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. teaching specific lessons or classes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. student control and discipline practices	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

(CA)

6. Teachers in this school expect each other to make comments or suggestions to each other about their . . .

	1 a great deal	2 consider-ably	3 moder-ately	4 not very much	5 not at all
a. administration of school fules and regulations					
b. student grading practices					
c. curriculum planning					
d. teaching specific lessons or classes					
e. student control and discipline practices					

7. Teachers in this school expect the principal to make comments or suggestions to teachers about their . . .

	1 a great deal	2 consider-ably	3 moder-ately	4 not very much	5 not at all
a. administration of school rules and regulations					
b. student grading practices					
c. curriculum planning					
d. teaching specific lessons or classes					
e. student control and discipline practices					

8. How much influence do you have over your own . . .

	1 a great deal	2 a consi-derable amount	3 a moder-ate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. administration of school rules and regulations					
b. student grading practices					
c. curriculum planning					
d. teaching specific lessons or classes					
e. student control and discipline practices					

(CA)

9. How much influence do school committees, teams, or teacher groups (e.g., similar grade level subject area) have over your own . . .

	1 a great deal	2 a considerable amount	3 a moderate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. administration of school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
b. student grading practices	____	____	____	____	____
c. curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
d. teaching specific lessons or classes	____	____	____	____	____
e. student control and discipline practices	____	____	____	____	____

10. How much influence do other teachers (separate individuals) have over your own...

	1 a great deal	2 a considerable amount	3 a moderate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. administration of school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
b. student grading practices	____	____	____	____	____
c. curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
d. teaching specific lessons or classes	____	____	____	____	____
e. student control and discipline practices	____	____	____	____	____

11. How much influence does the principal have over your own . . .

	1 a great deal	2 a considerable amount	3 a moderate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. administration of school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
b. student grading practices	____	____	____	____	____
c. curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
d. teaching specific lessons or classes	____	____	____	____	____
e. student control and discipline practices	____	____	____	____	____

(CA)

12. How likely are you to seek advice about a worrisome problem concerning your teaching from . . .

	1 very likely	2 likely	3 not very likely	4 not at all
a. colleagues in the school	____	____	____	____
b. the principal	____	____	____	____
c. supervisors, consultants from the District Office	____	____	____	____
d. I prefer to work it out for myself	____	____	____	____

13. How much influence do individual teachers here in this school have over . . .

	1 a great deal	2 a considerable amount	3 a moderate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. determining the educational goals and objectives of the school	____	____	____	____	____
b. establishing school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
c. student grading practices	____	____	____	____	____
d. general curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
e. student control and discipline practices	____	____	____	____	____

14. How much influence do school committees, teams, or groups (e.g., same grade level subject area) here in this school have over . . .

	1 a great deal	2 a considerable amount	3 a moderate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. determining the educational goals and objectives of the school	____	____	____	____	____
b. establishing school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
c. student grading practices	____	____	____	____	____
d. general curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
e. student control and discipline practices	____	____	____	____	____

(CA)

15. How much influence does the principal have over . . .

	1 a great deal	2 a considerable amount	3 a moderate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. determining the educational goals and objectives of the school	____	____	____	____	____
b. establishing school rules and regulations	____	____	____	____	____
c. student grading practices	____	____	____	____	____
d. general curriculum planning	____	____	____	____	____
e. student control and discipline practices	____	____	____	____	____

16. How much are teachers in this school influenced, in their ideas about good educational practice, by . . .

	1 a great deal	2 a considerable amount	3 a moderate amount	4 not very much	5 none
a. colleagues in the school	____	____	____	____	____
b. the principal	____	____	____	____	____
c. supervisors, consultants from the District Office	____	____	____	____	____
d. parents	____	____	____	____	____

Teacher Orientation Study

Part 4 (JS)

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about your attitudes toward your job as a teacher.

1. How satisfied are you with your present job?

   ___Very satisfied

   ___Satisfied

   ___Partly satisfied, partly dissatisfied

   ___Dissatisfied

   ___Very dissatisfied

2. With what aspects of your job are you dissatisfied? (Check all that apply.)

   ___My work requires too much time outside the classroom.

   ___Not enough opportunity to interact with adults.

   ___Salary is too low.

   ___Teachers don't get enough respect in this community.

   ___The number of students I have to work with makes it very difficult for me to do a good job.

3. How satisfied are you with teaching as an occupation?

   ___Very satisfied

   ___Satisfied

   ___Partly satisfied, partly dissatisfied

   ___Dissatisfied

   ___Very dissatisfied

(JS)

4. With what aspects of teaching are you dissatisfied? (Check all that apply.)

___Too much time outside of the classroom is required to do an adequate job.

___There is not enough opportunity to interact with adults.

___Salaries are too low.

___Classes are too large.

___Teachers do not have enough autonomy to accomplish what they want to do.

5. Please check the position you will be most likely to hold in five years time.

___Teaching in your present school system.

___Teaching in a school system, not necessarily your present one.

___Working on a job other than teaching in an educational setting (supervisory, curriculum work, administration, guidance).

___Working outside the education system entirely. (Please describe the type of job you might hold.)________________________________

____

___Other (Please specify):________________________________

____

6. Please check the position you would most prefer to hold in five years time.

___Teaching in your present school system.

___Teaching in a school system, not necessarily your present one.

___Working on a job other than teaching in an educational setting (supervisory, curriculum work, administration, guidance, etc.).

___Working outside the education system entirely. (Please describe the type of job you would prefer.)________________________________

____

___Other (Please specifiy):________________________________

____

7. If you were offered a good job outside of education at a good salary, which did not involve such close contact with people, how likely would you be to accept?

___Very likely

___Somewhat likely

___Somewhat unlikely

___Very unlikely

8. If you were offered a good job outside of education at a good salary which would involve close contact with people, how likely would you be to accept?

___Very likely

___Somewhat likely

___Somewhat unlikely

___Very unlikely

9. If you were given the chance to go back to college days and start over, how likely would you be to choose teaching as a career?

___Certainly

___Probably

___About even for and against

___Probably or certainly not

APPENDIX C

Pretest Questionnaire

Teacher Orientation Study

Part FS - Background Information

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about your background and experience.

1. Age: ____20-25 ____26-30 ____31-35 ____36-40
____41-50 ____over 50

2. Sex: ____M ____F

3. Marital Status: ____Married ____Single ____Divorced
____Widowed

4. Children: Number of ____

5. Education: Please list all colleges and universities in which you have been enrolled in a degree program.

School	Location	Years Attended	Major	Degree

6. Place of birth: ____________________

7. Politically, do you consider yourself more a:

____Liberal ____Conservative ____Moderate

Part FS

8. Employment: Please list the three most recent full-time positions you have held.

		Dates		
Employer	Location	From	To	Position

9. Number of years of teaching experience (not including the present school year):

____None ____Less than Two ____Two to Five ____Five to Ten

____More than Ten

10. Which different grades have you taught? (Check all that apply.)

____Pre-school ____K-3 ____4-6 ____7-9 ____10-12

____Junior College ____College or University

11. Are you now a member of a teaching team? ____Yes ____No

Teacher Orientation Study

Part 1 (Am, Or)

The questions below are concerned with your orientation toward various aspects of teaching. Please check the answer which best describes your own orientation.

1. In order to really help a child I find that I like to watch him as he performs in all the subject matter areas.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

2. What I really want in a job is (check as many as apply):

___Security.

___Interest and challenge.

___Good pay.

___Opportunity for advancement.

3. I am usually objective and impersonal--strictly business--with the children.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

4. Learning the formal material isn't always the most important thing a child can get out of school.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

5. I hate to see the children leave at the end of the year.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

6. I feel pretty satisfied with my work as long as the principal is happy with me.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

7. If a child is unable to learn a lesson, I substitute something else for the time being, and try again later.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

8. In comparison with other teachers, I would say that I am a very ambitious person.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

9. I discourage children from confiding in me as a parent.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

10. I personally really wish good teachers got more recognition.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

11. I am constantly concerned that my class is coming along as rapidly as it should be.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

12. I don't like to spend too much time analyzing children.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

13. In my professional role, I try to avoid getting emotionally involved with the students.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

14. I work very hard to get the children to keep up with the material.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

15. I prefer teaching positions in which I have opportunity to take part in the running of the school.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

16. I find the routine duties that accompany teaching rather relaxing.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Part 1 (Am, Or)

17. I make it my business to find something I can praise highly in each child, even if I have to look outside of school.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

18. I try to teach the fundamentals every child should know.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

19. The opportunity to initiate and carry out new instructional ideas is especially important to me.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

20. I try not to let the children tell me too many personal things about themselves.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

21. I don't feel responsible for making sure my pupils cover every bit of the curriculum.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

22. I often think about what I am doing that helps perpetuate behavior problems in a child.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

23. If my school encouraged me in acquiring a supervisory certificate by financing me, I would be:

___Extremely Interested ___Somewhat Interested ___Uninterested

24. My experience has taught me that children are really basically alike.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

25. In comparison with other teachers, I find good pay and fringe benefits are quite important to me in thinking about a job.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Part 1 (Am, Or)

26. I treat children in my class much as I would treat my own children.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

27. I don't have specific and carefully organized lesson plans.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

28. I have often thought that I would like to return to school for at least a year to improve my professional abilities as a classroom teacher.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

29. I have an impulse to mother many children I meet.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

30. I make a strong effort to stick to my lesson plans.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

31. I can never seem to "leave the children behind at school:" I often think about them.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

32. It is very important to me to be in a school where colleagues have a great deal to offer me.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

33. I think I could successfully teach without any testing or grading system.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

34. It would be all right with me to be judged as a teacher on the basis of how much progress my children make on a good standardized achievement test at the end of the year.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Part 1 (Am, Or)

35. One important advantage of being a teacher is that it fits in very well with family life.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

36. Although I work primarily with children:

___I enjoy working with adults even more.

___I enjoy working with adults just as much.

___I don't enjoy working with adults as much.

37. I design lessons with the average child in mind.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

38. I would really like the opportunity to help new young teachers develop classroom skills.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

39. I think I could successfully teach without textbooks.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

40. Sometimes I feel as if I'd really like to take some of my pupils home with me.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

41. It is very important to me to be in a school with many opportunities for advancement for the classroom teacher.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

42. A standardized curriculum and schedule interferes with my ability to really reach my pupils.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Part 1 (Am, Or)

43. Which of the following describes you (check as many as apply)?

___Once I get started, I stick to what I've begun until it's finished.

___It is quite important to me to do things very well.

___If I fail when trying to do something, it just makes me want to come back and try harder.

44. I find children endlessly interesting to study.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

45. The main way I can figure out how well I'm doing with my class each year is to compare the ability scores of the pupils with their achievement test scores.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

46. I could see myself helping to lead a workshop on teaching techniques.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

47a. There is a lot about teaching children that makes the teacher feel very much like a parent.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

47b. If your answer to question 47a was "Strongly Agree," or "Agree," please check one of the following:

___I don't mind this a bit.

___I dislike this very much.

___I don't care about it one way or the other.

48. One important advantage of being a teacher is that it is secure and one doesn't have to worry about the future in terms of one's career.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Part 1 (Am, Or)

49. Depending on what each child is like, I try to build a different kind of relationship with each one.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

50. I would be very interested in showing other teachers styles and techniques I've developed.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

51. The most important thing I consider in analyzing a child's progress in school is (check one only):

___The child's development as an integrated person.

___The child's performance in learning.

52. I find I often have ideas about how this school could be more smoothly run.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

53. When I look into a child's record, the first thing I look at is (check one only):

___The detailed record of his achievement.

___The general picture of his social and intellectual development.

___The comments which help me decide which children are going to be the behavior problems.

54. I would be competent at making supervisory evaluations of the other teachers.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Teacher Orientation Study

Part 2 (AE)

Now we would like to ask you about the way your work as a teacher is evaluated, and about your responses to your evaluations.

1. My principal is required to formally evaluate my work. ___Yes ___No

2. (If yes) How often does the principal observe for formal evaluation purposes?

___Weekly ___Monthly ___Once or twice a year

3. My principal announces ahead of time whenever he plans to come for a formal evaluation.

___Always ___Sometimes ___Almost Never

4. Colleagues should have the right to evaluate each other's work.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

5. A principal should have the right to evaluate a teacher's work.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

6. Formal evaluations are important in determining my future career opportunities.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

7. Formal evaluations don't give any accurate picture of a teacher.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

8. I agree with the formal evaluations that I receive.

___Completely ___In Part ___Not at All

9. I resent the formal evaluation procedure.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

Part 2 (AE)

10. I receive a copy of my principal's evaluation after formal visitations.

___Always ___Sometimes ___Almost Never

11. My principal discusses his evaluation with me.

___Always ___Sometimes ___Almost Never

12. My principal evaluates me on the following (check all the appropriate ones):

___Orderly classroom

___Student discipline

___Clean classroom

___Record keeping

___Written lesson plans

___Following the curriculum guide

___Creativity

___Ability to handle individual children's problems

___Being on time

___Skill in presentation

___Other (specify) ____

13. I agree with my principal's evaluation scheme.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

14. I tend to take my principal's evaluation scheme into account when I am teaching.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

15. With how many colleagues do you frequently exchange professional information? (Number)____

16. How much does your teaching assignment depend on the formal evaluation you received from your principal?

___Great Deal ___Some ___Not at All

17. I am concerned about parents' impression of my teaching.

___A Lot ___Not Much ___Not at All

18. Some teachers in this school should have much more influence than others on the way the school is run.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

19. Some teachers in this school do have much more influence than others on the way the school is run.

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Neutral ___Disagree ___Strongly Disagree

20. Some teachers in this school are generally thought of by their colleagues as the most able teachers.

___Yes ___No

21. (If yes to the preceding question) Do these teachers have more influence than others on the way the school is run?

___Yes ___No

Teacher Orientation Study

Part 4 (JS)

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about your attitudes toward your job as a teacher.

1. How satisfied are you with your present job?

_____Very satisfied

_____Satisfied

_____Partly satisfied, partly dissatisfied

_____Dissatisfied

_____Very dissatisfied

2. With what aspects of your job are you dissatisfied? (Check all that apply)

_____My work requires too much time outside the classroom.

_____My students are not learning as much as they might be.

_____I don't feel I'm developing very rapidly as a teacher.

_____Not enough opportunity to interact with adults.

_____Salary is too low.

_____Teachers don't get enough respect in this community.

_____The number of students I have to work with makes it very difficult for me to do a good job.

_____I am required to do too much administrative paper work.

_____I don't have enough autonomy in this job to do the work the way it should be done.

_____Other:____

____

____

____

Part 4 (JS)

3. Have you considered asking for a transfer to another school?

_____Yes   _____No

4. How satisfied are you with teaching as an occupation?

_____Very satisfied

_____Satisfied

_____Partly satisfied, partly dissatisfied

_____Dissatisfied

_____Very dissatisfied

5. With what aspects of teaching are you dissatisfied? (Check all that apply)

_____Too much time outside of the classroom is required to do an adequate job.

_____Students do not learn as much as they might.

_____It is difficult to make progress in developing as a teacher.

_____There is not enough opportunity to interact with adults.

_____Salaries are too low.

_____Teachers do not get enough respect from the community.

_____Classes are too large.

_____There is too much administrative paper work.

_____Teachers do not have enough autonomy to accomplish what they want to do.

_____Other:____

____

____

____

____

Part 4 (JS)

6a. Please check the position you will be most likely to hold in five years time.

_____Teaching in your present school system.

_____Teaching in a school system, not necessarily your present one.

_____Working on a job other than teaching in an educational setting (supervisory, curriculum work, administration, guidance).

_____Working outside the education system entirely. (Please describe the type of job you might hold.)______________________________

____

6b. Please check the position you would most prefer to hold in five years' time.

_____Teaching in your present school system.

_____Teaching in a school system, not necessarily your present one.

_____Working on a job other than teaching in an educational setting (supervisory, curriculum work, administration, guidance, etc.).

_____Working outside the education system entirely. (Please describe the type of job you would prefer.)______________________________

____

7. If you were offered a good job outside of education at a good salary, which did not involve such close contact with people, how likely would you be to accept?

_____Very likely

_____Somewhat likely

_____Somewhat unlikely

_____Very unlikely

8. If you were offered a good job outside of education at a good salary which would involve close contact with people, how likely would you be to accept?

_____Very likely

_____Somewhat likely

_____Somewhat unlikely

_____Very unlikely

9. If you were given the chance to go back to college days and start over, how likely would you be to choose teaching as a career?

_____Certainly

_____Probably

_____About even for and against

_____Probably or certainly not